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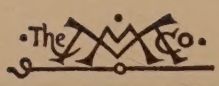
A BOOK ABOUT THE ENGLISH BIBLE



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A BOOK ABOUT THE ENGLISH BIBLE

BY

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New York

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TO THE MEMORY
OF MY
FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

This volume is simply what its title indicates, "A Book about the English Bible." It has grown out of a series of lectures delivered to students in the University of Pennsylvania, the purpose of which was to give a brief account of the English Bible, its immediate sources and their contents, their literary background and surroundings, the forms and characteristics of the constituent books and their relation to each other. To the chapters, in which these subjects are suggested, rather than discussed, have been added several others containing a short history of the translation of the Bible into English, from Saxon times to our own day. Attention is called to the differences between the commonly used English versions as regards contents and translation, and to the reasons for the differences.

It is hoped that the reader may be sufficiently interested by what is said in the various chapters, to desire to pursue the study further by means of other books such as those named in the appended Bibliography.

To my colleagues Dr. C. G. Child and Dr. J. A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, and to Dr. F. C. Porter and Dr. E. H. Sneath, of Yale University, all of whom read the manuscript, or special portions of it, and to my brother Dr. James H. Penniman who read the proof, I desire to express my gratitude for suggestions and corrections. To Dr. Montgomery I am indebted also for his kind permission to print his translation of several of the poems of Isaiah.

Thanks are due to publishers for permission to make quotations from their copyrighted books; to Houghton

Mifflin Company for passages from *The Syrian Christ* by A. M. Rihbany; to Charles Scribner's Sons for passages from *The Study of Holy Scripture* by C. A. Briggs, from *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* by S. R. Driver, and from *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* by J. Moffatt; to the Jewish Publication Society of America for passages from *The Story of Bible Translations* by M. L. Margolis, and from the Preface to *The Holy Scriptures;* to the American Sunday School Union for passages from *Archæology and the Bible* by G. A. Barton; to Moffat Yard and Company for passages from *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy* by H. M. Kallen; to the Oxford University Press for passages from *Records of the English Bible* by A. W. Pollard. Scripture passages, unless otherwise indicated, are from the *American Standard Edition of the Revised Bible*, published by Thomas Nelson and Sons.

To the many authors whose works are quoted, or referred to, in this volume, or were consulted in the preparation of it, I here acknowledge my indebtedness.

JOSIAH H. PENNIMAN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
June, 1918.

CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
I.	The Sources of the English Bible	1
II.	The Background of the Old Testament	22
III.	The Background of the New Testament	40
IV.	Poetic Forms in the Bible	70
V.	The Uses and Sources of Imagery and Allusion in the Bible	97
VI.	Biblical History	124
VII.	Biblical Stories	157
VIII.	The Psalms	180
IX.	The Song of Solomon	200
X.	The Wisdom Books	210
XI.	The Book of Job	231
XII.	Parables	268
XIII.	Prophets	280
XIV.	Letters and Homilies	298
XV.	Apocalypses	309
XVI.	The English Bible in Manuscript	323
XVII.	The Printed English Bible, 1525–1539	344
XVIII.	The English Versions, 1539–1582	366
XIX.	The English Versions, 1582–1611	377
XX.	The English Versions, 1611–1881	391
XXI.	Modern Revisions of the English Bible, 1881–1917	410
	Bibliography	429

A BOOK ABOUT THE ENGLISH BIBLE

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CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Over the entrance to the Library of the University of Pennsylvania are the lines:—

> "O blessed letters that combine in one
> All ages past, and make one live with all,
> By you we do commune with who are gone,
> And the dead-living unto counsel call."

Impressive words! reminding the student who may chance to read them that in literature the world has a heritage with which no other of its possessions can compare in value, for by words, more than by any other form of expression, the mind and heart are revealed and the intellectual and spiritual treasure of the race preserved. Through books we may know the mind of the past and transmit the mind of the present.

The greatest book is the Bible, and the reason for the place assigned to it is that it contains interpretations of human life, actual and ideal, which reveal man to himself, in his joys and sorrows, his triumphs and his defeats, his aspirations and his possibilities, his relations to other men, and, comprehending and enveloping all, his relations to God. Men may differ about what

the Bible is, but the fact remains that for centuries millions of men, of all grades of intelligence and learning, have believed that the Bible speaks to them as no other book has ever spoken, and that what it says comes with an authority derived from God himself. The primary spiritual problem of man is his relations to God. Men, everywhere, recognize the existence of an intelligent power outside and higher than themselves that controls and regulates the universe. The individual who doubts or denies the existence of God is exceptional, and his opinions are at variance with human belief and experience. The Bible, concerned as it is in its component parts with the revelation of God to man, and the relation of man to God, has held the attention of men because it is true to the truths of life and satisfying to the yearnings of the human spirit. Men have found it so, and there is an abiding faith that men will continue to find it so.

Beliefs concerning the Jehovah of the Old Testament, and the worship of Jehovah, existed long before any accounts of such beliefs and worship were ever written. The writings we have are not the earliest. Included in the Old Testament are portions of writings that long antedate any of the existing books as we have them, and that may properly be regarded as important sources of the books. The teachings of Jesus were related orally for some years before any part of the New Testament was written.

Reverence for the Bible is increased by a knowledge of the history of its transmission down the centuries, through many languages, and many versions, preserving always its distinctive qualities unimpaired by the frailties of human copyists, and unchanged through the lapse of time.

THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

The title-pages of the modern English versions of the Bible, with the exception of the Douay Bible, state that they are translations from the original tongues. A copy of the latter states that it is "translated . . . out of the Authentical Latin . . . conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke and other Editions in divers languages."

The Old Testament is in Hebrew, with the exception of a few passages, which are in Aramaic, Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26, Daniel 2:4b–7:28, Jeremiah 10:11. The New Testament is in Greek. These are the original languages. The conquests of Alexander spread the knowledge of Greek in the East, and in cities like Alexandria, great and populous, were many Jews who adopted the language as their own. In the time of Jesus the conquests of Rome had brought Latin also into the East where it became the language of the government. At the Crucifixion, the inscription placed on the cross was "in Hebrew and in Latin and in Greek." John 19: 20. These three languages contain the immediate sources of our Bible. The original language of the Old Testament was Hebrew, but our oldest manuscripts containing it are in Greek, into which the Jewish Scriptures were translated. Some of the Greek versions antedate by centuries our oldest Hebrew copies, which are the Petrograd Codex of the Prophets 916 A. D. and a manuscript of the entire Scriptures, also at Petrograd, and dating perhaps as early as 1009 A. D.

The Jewish Scriptures have come down to us with what is known as an "accepted text" as a result of the care of the Sopherim, who were the custodians of the sacred text until the sixth century, when it was taken

over by the Massorites, the work of the two groups of scholars being thus differentiated by Dr. C. D. Ginsburg:

"The Sopherim . . . were the authorized revisers and redactors of the text according to certain principles, the Massorites were precluded from developing the principles and altering the text in harmony with these canons. Their province was to safeguard the text delivered to them, by 'building a hedge around it,' to protect it against alterations, or the adoption of any readings which still survived in manuscripts or were exhibited in the ancient versions." [1]

The Jewish Scriptures, which the early Christian Church accepted as inspired, consisted of three separate collections as follows: 1, "The Law"; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; 2, "The Prophets"; Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, (The Twelve), Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; 3, "The Writings"; Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, I Chronicles, II Chronicles. It will be seen that the order in which the books are placed in the English Bible is not that of the Hebrew Scriptures. The latter vary slightly in the order of the books in "The Prophets" and "The Writings," but no book of one collection is ever placed in another. The three collections are each definite in text and in contents. "The Prophets" are subdivided into the "Former," Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, and the "Latter," Isaiah–Malachi. The "Latter" are divided by length of books into "The

[1] C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897, p. 421.

Major," Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel,[1] and "The Twelve" or "The Minor," Hosea–Malachi. Included in "The Writings" is a group known as the "Five Rolls" or "Megilloth," the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, which were and are read in the synagogues at the celebration of the Passover, Pentecost, 9th of Ab (destruction of Jerusalem), Tabernacles, Purim, respectively. There are two distinct series of historical books in the Old Testament, one of which consists of Genesis–II Kings,[2] inclusive, that is, from Creation to the release of Jehoiachin from Babylon 562 B. C.; the other is I Chronicles–Nehemiah, inclusive. This begins with Adam, I Chronicles 1:1, and closes with the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem, 432 B. C. The Hebrew Scriptures ended with II Chronicles and this will explain the reference in Matthew 23:35, "all the righteous blood shed upon the earth from the blood of Abel (Genesis 4:8) . . . unto the blood of Zachariah, son of Barachiah," (II Chronicles 24:20, although he is there called the son of Jehoiada[3]).

The dividing, into two books each, of Samuel, Kings,

[1] Daniel is in "The Writings" in the Hebrew Scriptures, not in "The Prophets."

[2] Except Ruth, which, because of its opening reference to the Judges, was placed in the Septuagint, and consequently in the Latin and English versions, immediately after Judges.

[3] There are many such apparent discrepancies in the Bible. In Ezra 5:1, Zechariah is called "the son of Iddo"; in Zechariah 1:1, "the son of Berechiah," "the son of Iddo." Similarly Zerubbabel is in I Chronicles 3:19 the son of Pedaiah; in Ezra 3:2, Nehemiah 12:1, and Haggai 1:1 he is "the son of Shealtiel." Salah (Shelah) is in Genesis 11:12, the son of Arpachshad, and in Luke 3:35–36, the son of Cainan, son of Arphaxad. There are twenty seven differences between the two lists of names given in Ezra 2:2–60, and Nehemiah 7:7–62. These and other discrepancies are usually easily explained. In Matthew 27:5, we are told that Judas "hanged himself," while in Acts 1:18, we read of him "and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." One statement does not exclude the possibility of the other. He may have hanged himself on some high place from which he afterwards fell.

Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles, which Jerome called "double books," and the counting of the "Minor Prophets" as twelve, where the Jews counted them as one book, causes our Old Testament to include as thirty-nine the books, which in the Hebrew Scriptures were counted as twenty-four. Among Jewish scholars were differences of opinion as to the inclusion of Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Ezra and Chronicles, but as a result of the Rabbinical Councils at Jamnia about 90 A. D. and 118 A. D. the third collection of the Hebrew, as we have it, was finally decided upon.

There is reason for believing that the Scriptures of the Palestinian Jews were complete as early as the time of Judas Maccabæus, although among different sects such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Zealots, were differences of opinion concerning the books, which continued until the Councils of Jamnia. The threefold collection is thought to be referred to in the Prologue of the Wisdom of Jesus, the son of Sirach:—

"My grandfather Jesus, . . . having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and other books of our fathers, etc."

In the time of Jesus the Son of Sirach, the Hebrew Scriptures were accessible in Greek. About that time, in the persecution by Antiochus, "sacred books" of the Jews were burnt and possessors of a copy of the book of the Covenant were put to death.

When the Hebrew collections were made we do not know. The book of the law was fundamental and there was doubtless some written form of the law very early. In Joshua 8:32–35, a book closely associated with Deuteronomy, we are told that Joshua read "all the words of the law . . . written in the book of the

law" and also that he wrote upon "stones a copy of the law of Moses." According to an ancient tradition the inscriptions here mentioned were in all the languages of the world. Jehoshaphat appointed men to teach the law to the people, II Chronicles 17:7–9, and Ezra read to the people from the book of the law of Moses, Nehemiah 13:1. In the reign of Josiah a copy of the law was found by Hilkiah the priest, II Chronicles 34:14. This book, so often referred to, was not our Pentateuch, as we have it, but it seems certain that our Pentateuch includes a large part, if not all of what is in these passages called "the law of Moses." It is probable that the following statement has reference to the preservation of the collections which now constitute the Old Testament:—

"And the same things were related both in the public archives and in the records that concern Nehemiah; and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the *books* of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts. And in like manner Judas also gathered together for us all those *writings* that had been scattered by reason of the war that befell, and they are still with us." II Maccabees 2:13–14.

There is an old story that the Hebrew Sacred Books were lost during the Babylonian captivity, 605 to 536 B. C., and that their preservation is due to Ezra. In the Fourth Book of Esdras (II Esdras of the Apocrypha), which dates probably from about 100 A. D., is a passage, 14:23–48, in which it is stated that Ezra, from memory, with the aid of five skillful scribes produced in a forty-day period "ninety-four" (Syr. Eth. Arab, Arm. versions, reading "two hundred and four," Latin copies varying) books, of which twenty-four

(the Hebrew Scriptures?) were to be published openly and the remaining "seventy" kept for "such as be wise among the people." This story is connected with another tradition, equally without foundation in fact, that Ezra and a group of learned men known as the "Great Synagogue" or "Assembly," connected with the second Temple, after the return from Babylon, collected and edited the Hebrew Sacred Scriptures. During the third century B. C. we find the Hebrew "Law" being translated into Greek, a language into which all the Scriptures were put, forming ultimately what became known as the Septuagint, or Greek Old Testament.

The Hebrew collections are referred to in the New Testament in a number of passages, such as Matthew 7:12, "this is the law and the prophets"; Luke 16:31, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets." "Psalms" in the following passage may refer simply to the book of Psalms or to the third collection, called by the name of the book which is usually placed first in it; at all events the three collections were evidently in mind when the words were spoken:—

"All things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms concerning me." Luke 24:44.

Upon the restoration of the Jewish State, as related in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it was necessary that the people should become familiar with the ancient law of Moses. There was, however, a difficulty, as the Hebrew of the law was not the spoken language of the people. This is probably the meaning of the words:

"And they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly (margin 'with an interpretation'); and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading." Nehemiah 8:8.

"The Rabbis perceived in this activity of the first generation of the Sopherim the origin of the Aramaic translation known as the Targum, first made orally, and afterwards committed to writing, which was necessitated by the fact that Israel had forgotten the sacred language, and spoke the idiom current in a large part of western Asia. All this, however, is veiled in obscurity as is the whole inner history of the Jews during the Persian rule." [1]

The Aramaic Targum is of importance because, as Dr. Margolis says:—" . . . it enables us to gain an insight into the interpretation of the Scriptures at a time when tradition had not yet wholly died out." [2] The Babylonian Targum of Onkelos contained the Pentateuch, as did also the Palestinian Targum of Jerusalem. Of the "Prophets" there is a Babylonian Targum and fragments of a Palestinian. The Targum of the "Writings" is Palestinian. There are other Targums which differ somewhat from each other in being freer, or more literal, in their translation of the Hebrew text.

THE SEPTUAGINT

It was but natural that books held in such reverence by the Jews should become known to others, and a Greek translation of the Scriptures was sure to be made. Special reasons for it existed at Alexandria, that being a great center of Greek learning and the seat of a famous

[1] Preface to *The Holy Scriptures*, a new translation, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917.
[2] M. L. Margolis, *The Story of Bible Translations*, Philadelphia, 1917, p. 21.

library. There had been Jews in Egypt for centuries before the time of Alexander, who, when he founded Alexandria (332 B. C.), recognized the loyalty and courage of a race, representatives of which had fought in his armies, by setting apart in the new city a special place for Jewish colonists, whom he admitted to full citizenship.[1] They were allowed to transform an Egyptian temple at Leontopolis into a replica of the Temple at Jerusalem, and to celebrate Jewish rites there until the coming of the Romans ended this. An idea of the wide dispersion of the Jews and also of their loyalty to their religion and to Jerusalem its center, is given in the opening of the second chapter of Acts.

The Greek version of the Scriptures was in circulation in the time of Jesus. A story of how this version came into existence is told in an ancient letter of Aristeas to Philocrates. This letter was quoted by the Alexandrian writers Aristobulus and Philo, and by Josephus, the historian of the Jews. We know, therefore, that the letter was in existence as early as the first century of the Christian era. Aristeas says that the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was made by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 B. C.) at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, librarian of the royal library at Alexandria. An embassy was sent to Eleazar the High Priest, at Jerusalem, with the request that he send to Alexandria, with a copy of the Hebrew Law, six elders, from each of the twelve tribes of Israel, to make a translation for the royal library. Philo states that the anniversary of the completion of the translation was celebrated yearly. This story, while for many reasons

[1] See H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1900, Introduction, p. 4.

of doubtful accuracy and authenticity, is quoted by early Christian writers as authority. An interesting variant of the story makes the number of translators seventy, instead of seventy-two, and states that they worked independently, each in a separate cell, and that when they compared their work, on its completion, every copy agreed, *verbatim et literatim*, with the others. The Talmud gives the story of the seventy-two translators, but speaks also of another tradition which attributed the Greek version of the Law to five elders. What we are sure of is that a translation of the Old Testament into Greek was made, beginning probably with the Pentateuch, about the time of Philadelphus, and completed in later years, by different hands. This Greek version came to be known as the "Septuagint" (Latin, *Septuaginta*) commonly written LXX, and is referred to in ancient Greek manuscripts as the version "according to the Seventy." Jerome, whose name is associated with the Latin version of the Bible, doubts the story of the cells and says:—[1] "Nescio quis primus auctor LXX cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, etc."

In Book II of his Apology for Himself against the books of Rufinus, 402 A. D.,[2] Jerome mentions the important differences in text between different Greek versions of the Old Testament and differences between the Greek versions and the Hebrew text. We are concerned with the Septuagint, in this volume, only so far as it contributes one of the early sources of our text of the Old Testament, for the most ancient texts of it that we possess are in Greek. The Old Testament of the early Christian Church was in Greek, not in Hebrew,

[1] In the Preface to *Genesis*.
[2] *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, New York, 1892, Vol. III, pp. 516–17.

and quotations in the New Testament are from the Greek version.

Of Greek manuscripts the most important are:—

The Codex Vaticanus, brought to Rome in 1448 and believed to have been copied in Egypt in the fourth century.

The Codex Sinaiticus, of the fourth century, found in 1844–1859 in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, and now in the Imperial Library in Petrograd.

The Codex Alexandrinus sent in 1628 by the Patriarch of Constantinople to Charles I as a gift. It was probably made at Alexandria in the fifth century and since 1753 has been in the British Museum.

Each of these three contains almost the whole Bible and Apocrypha.

The Ephraem manuscript, now in the National Library in Paris, belongs also probably to the fifth century. It is a bundle of fragments representing about three-fifths of the original manuscript.

The Manuscript of Beza, so called because once owned by that scholar, was presented by him to the University of Cambridge in 1581. It is generally referred to the sixth century. It contains the Gospels and Acts and is remarkable as being the earliest to contain John 7:53–8:11.

These manuscripts and the hundreds of others, of different dates, and of a more or less fragmentary character, are the oldest versions we have of any parts of the Bible either Old Testament or New. The discovery of additional manuscripts often throws light on the text, and it will be noticed that most important manuscripts have come to our knowledge since the completion of the King James Version in 1611. In addition to the Hebrew and Greek sources of the text of the

Bible, we have also manuscripts, of various ages, of a fifth century Armenian translation of the whole Bible, fragments of a Gothic version made by Wulfilas in the fourth century, of several different Egyptian (Coptic) versions of parts of the Bible, of an Ethiopic version and of a Syriac version. All of these, as well as early quotations from the Bible, are important as indicating what the contents and text were regarded as being, for the manuscripts differ in text, and do not all contain the same books. There are important differences, the Syriac Peshitto version, for example, omitting the Apocrypha entirely. The name Apocrypha meaning "hidden" or "secret," had been applied to the books of certain sects. It was used by Jerome of a number of books which had been included in the Greek version. Of these, some were originally in Greek, while others were a Greek translation of Hebrew or Aramaic writings. The original Hebrew of the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach was found in a Cairo manuscript now in the Cambridge University Library. None of the books of the Apocrypha was included by the Palestinian Jews among their Scriptures, though some were by the Hellenistic Jews.

THE LATIN VERSIONS

Just as the conquests of Alexander and the spread of Greek language and learning throughout the East resulted in a Greek version of the Old Testament, so the Roman conquests spread the Latin language, and of course a Latin version of both Old Testament and New was inevitable. Christianity spread through the preaching of the Apostles, and this fact made even more important the Greek versions, and made necessary the Latin.

The oldest Latin version, which was known to

Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome, and others of the Fathers, was probably made in the second century from the Septuagint, and there appear to have been different varieties of the text. Augustine commends the Itala, and there were also an African and some European versions. The oldest form of the Latin version is in the opinion of critics the African. Portions of the Old Latin versions are still in existence in about forty manuscripts. It was the lack of uniformity in the early Latin versions that led Damasus, Bishop of Rome, to commission Jerome, a Dalmatian, to prepare a Latin translation of the Psalms and Gospels. He finished this work and the New Testament on the basis of Greek texts. A short time later Jerome revised his Psalter on the basis of Origen's work. Origen (184–254 A. D.) endeavored to produce an accurate Greek text of the Old Testament, and edited a Tetrapla, or four-text, and later a Hexapla, or six-text work, of which all that remains are fragments quoted in the Church Fathers, and a fragment of some of the Psalms, the latter found in the Ambrosian Library in 1896. In the same library were found also, in 1874, a copy of a Syriac translation of the Septuagint text of the Hexapla made in 616 A. D. Origen arranged in columns, 1, the Hebrew text, 2, the Hebrew text in Greek characters, 3, 4, and 5, versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, 6, a revised Septuagint text. Origen worked on the New Testament as well, endeavoring to fix a canon. He and Jerome were the two great textual critics of the early Church.

Jerome was not content to translate from Greek, but went to live at Bethlehem, where, for fifteen years (390–405 A. D.), he devoted himself to the study of Hebrew, and the translation of the Old Testament from

The King's Library

Hebrew into Latin. At the request of several bishops, he translated also the books of Judith and Tobit, which a friend of his translated from Aramaic into Hebrew for him. He then translated the Hebrew version, though he regarded as canonical only the ancient Hebrew books. The oldest Latin versions were made from the Greek and included the Apocrypha, books rejected by the Jews, but received, with differences of opinion, by the Church. Their inclusion was, against the opinion of Jerome, and owing to the influence of Augustine, decided upon by the Synods of Hippo 393 A. D. and Carthage 397 A. D.

It is interesting to note that in Latin Bibles until 1566 the Old Latin translation of the Psalms revised by Jerome and known as the Roman Psalter was retained, the second revision of Jerome, known as the Gallican Psalter, replacing it in that year. Jerome's third and later translation directly from Hebrew never came into general use. This retention of an older version of the Psalms is similar to the continued use of the Bishops' version to-day in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Council of Trent, at its fourth session 1546, decreed that the Vulgate, Jerome's Latin version, was the Authentic Bible of the Roman Catholic Church. This contains the books of the Apocrypha (except the Prayer of Manasses and I and II Esdras), among the other books. The books of the Apocrypha, included in the Vulgate, and therefore in the Rheims-Douay Version, are sometimes distinguished from the canonical Hebrew Scriptures by the title "deutero-canonical" [1]

[1] The same term has been applied to certain New Testament books which were accepted as canonical only after long discussion, hence another title "Antilegomena," by which they were known. The books are Hebrews, James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John and Revelation.

meaning that they are a supplement to the Hebrew canon. Protestant opinion concerning the Apocrypha ranges from the rejection of it as uninspired and the consequent exclusion of it from the Bible, to the view expressed in Article of Religion VI of the Church of England, which is as follows:—

"And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following: *The Third*, [*First*] *Book of Esdras*, *The Fourth* [*Second*] *Book of Esdras*, *The Book of Tobias*, *The Book of Judith*, *The rest of the Book of Esther*, *The Book of Wisdom*, *Jesus the Son of Sirach*, *Baruch the Prophet*, *The Song of the Three Children*, *The Story of Susanna*, *Of Bel and the Dragon*, *The Prayer of Manasses*, *The First Book of Maccabees*, *The Second Book of Maccabees*."

In the Larger Catechism of the Russian Greek Church, 1839, the Apocrypha is not included among canonical books, because "they do not exist in Hebrew."

After the Reformation, Protestants did not regard these books as inspired, but did regard them as valuable for their teachings, and they were therefore commonly printed in Protestant English versions, following the example of Luther's version 1534 in a collection by themselves, between the Old Testament and the New, but for many years they have usually not been printed in English Protestant versions. The omission of the Apocrypha dates from 1826 and is the result of a controversy in the British and Foreign Bible Society, some members of which objected to circulating with the canonical books others which were not regarded as inspired.[1] We find, therefore, a difference, as to

[1] See *The Book and Its Story*, on the occasion of the Jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1854, p. 319.

books and parts of books, between the Vulgate, and translations of it, used by Roman Catholics, and the Bible as commonly accepted by Protestants. The oldest Christian list of the books of the Old Testament is that of Melito, Bishop of Sardis 170 A. D., which omits the Apocrypha and also Esther.

There were, of course, many versions and variants of the Latin Bible, and it became necessary for the Roman Catholic Church to fix upon a text that should be standard. A particular edition of the Vulgate was designated and, after that of Pope Sixtus V, 1590, had been found unsatisfactory, one issued by Clement VIII was, by Papal Bull of 1592, declared to be Authentic. No word of it is permitted to be altered. The action of the Council of Trent in 1546 in regard to the Vulgate, was reaffirmed by the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican in 1870. In the spring of 1907 announcement was made that Pius X had determined upon a critical revision of the Latin Bible. This work is being done by a Commission under the leadership of Father Gasquet, who are at work studying and collating manuscripts for the purpose of creating a text that shall be superior to that of the Clementine edition of 1592.[1]

With regard to the canon of The New Testament there is no difference between the versions. Here there was no collection of ancient writings to be adopted, whole, or with exceptions or additions, by the early Christian Church. By a gradual process of acceptance and approval the New Testament came into existence as the authoritative fundamental book of Christianity. Of the twenty-seven books, which it contains, a few were accepted finally only after long discussion. Books, which for a time were read in churches, but which

[1] See the article "Vulgate, the Revision of," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia.*

were never regarded as inspired, were the Clementine Epistles, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas. There exist also other books such as the Apocalypse of Peter, Epistle to the Laodiceans, Acts of Paul, and many so-called Gospels.

Of the various early lists of writings permitted to be read in churches that of Athanasius d. 373 is the earliest to include the present twenty-seven books of the New Testament. In his Easter Pastoral Letter in 365 A. D., Athanasius gave a complete list of the Old Testament books, placing the Apocrypha in a separate classification, and naming the books of the New Testament as we have it. Other early lists vary in regard to Hebrews, James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John, and Revelation, which have been mentioned[1] as the "Antilegomena," or books "spoken against."

The Hebrew Scriptures, the Greek and Latin versions of them, the New Testament in Greek, and in Latin, these underlie the English versions of the Bible, which differ in contents, or in arrangement of contents, according to the texts from which they have been derived.

The order of the books of the Old Testament in English versions, except the Jewish, which retains the ancient Hebrew groupings, is due to the Greek and Latin translations, as are also the names of the books. In the following lists the contents of the Revised Version which represents the Protestant view of the Old Testament canon, are placed parallel to the contents of the Rheims-Douay Version, which, following the Vulgate, represents the canon as accepted by the Roman Catholic Church. So long as the books were on separate rolls of parchment the order was unim-

[1] Above, p. 15, note.

portant, except in the contents of each roll. When the books were put into a volume the order became necessarily fixed.

It must always be remembered that the Bible as known and read in Western Europe until the time of the Reformation was the Vulgate, or Jerome's Latin version. It was from the Vulgate, Exodus 34:29, for example, that Michelangelo derived his authority for placing horns on the head of his statue of Moses. The Vulgate was back of the literature and art of Western Europe from the time that Christianity became the prevailing religion.

CONTENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Revised Version	*Rheims-Douay Version*
Genesis.	Genesis.
Exodus.	Exodus.
Leviticus.	Leviticus.
Numbers.	Numbers.
Deuteronomy.	Deuteronomy.
Joshua.	Josue.
Judges.	Judges.
Ruth.	Ruth.
I Samuel.	I Kings.
II Samuel.	II Kings.
I Kings.	III Kings.
II Kings.	IV Kings.
I Chronicles.	I Paralipomenon.
II Chronicles.	II Paralipomenon.
Ezra.	I Esdras.
Nehemiah.	II Esdras, alias Nehemias.
	Tobias.
	Judith.
Esther.	Esther (including additional chapters).
Job.	Job.
Psalms.	Psalms.
Proverbs.	Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.	Ecclesiastes.
Song of Solomon.	Canticle of Canticles.
	Wisdom.
	Ecclesiasticus.
Isaiah.	Isaias.
Jeremiah.	Jeremias.

Revised Version	*Rheims-Douay Version*
Lamentations.	Lamentations.
	Baruch.
Ezekiel.	Ezechiel.
Daniel.	Daniel, (including The Song of the Three Holy Children, The History of Susanna and, Bel and the Dragon).
Hosea.	Osee.
Joel.	Joel.
Amos.	Amos.
Obadiah.	Abdias.
Jonah.	Jonas.
Micah.	Micheas.
Nahum.	Nahum.
Habakkuk.	Habacuc.
Zephaniah.	Sophonias.
Haggai.	Aggeus.
Zechariah.	Zacharias.
Malachi.	Malachias.
	I Machabees.
	II Machabees.

The Apocrypha, non-canonical.

I Esdras, (commonly called III Esdras).
II Esdras, (commonly called IV Esdras).
Tobit.
Judith.
Esther, (additional chapters, the Septuagint adding ten verses, and the Vulgate six chapters).
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach, (Ecclesiasticus).
Baruch.
Song of the three Holy Children, (addition to Daniel).
History of Susanna, (addition to Daniel).
Bel and the Dragon, (addition to Daniel).
Prayer of Manasses.
I Maccabees.
II Maccabees.

The Rheims-Douay version differs in the names of some books. Nehemiah is called II Esdras, Ezra being

called I Esdras, as was formerly done in all Bibles. I and II Samuel, and I and II Kings are I, II, III and IV Kings, while Chronicles appears as Paralipomenon, from the Septuagint title.

In the New Testament we have quotations from thirty books of the Hebrew canon, but no quotation, as such, from any of the books of the Apocrypha, although there are many passages, which will be discussed in another connection, which indicate that the New Testament writers were familiar with some of the books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.[1]

[1] *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, edited by R. H. Charles, Cambridge, 1913, is the first complete English edition of the non-canonical Jewish literature of the period extending from about 200 B. C. to 100 A. D. Under the title *The Apocryphal New Testament*, the non-canonical books of the early Christian centuries have been reprinted (1906) from an edition of 1820, printed in London for William Hone.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Back of the Old Testament was an extensive literature, the product of high culture.

The Old Testament historical writings cover, in detail at some places, and in broad outline at others, the history of Jehovah's dealings with the descendants of Abraham, at first as the patriarchs, then as the tribes, and later as the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the Dispersion, the building of cities, the confusion of tongues—these occupy the first eleven chapters of Genesis. The twelfth chapter records the call of Abraham, an event which occurred about twenty-two centuries before the Christian era. In addition to history, are the laws governing the religious ceremonies and social organization of the Jews, and there are also examples of various kinds of poetry, of wisdom literature, of stories of remarkable people and events, and the utterances of the prophets with their messages directly from Jehovah himself.

Probably the most interesting and important result of the work of the archæologists in their researches in the Orient has been in the reconstruction of much of the background of the Old Testament writings. The general reader no longer regards the ancient Hebrew Scriptures as shrouded in mystery as to their sources, and as representing ages in which the life of man was lived in a manner unlike that of any other time. The Tell el Amarna tablets, discovered in 1887, some of which

contain correspondence between Egypt and Palestine of about the time of Moses, indirectly throw light on the story of Joseph, for example, by indicating that close relations existed between the two countries, involving, probably, frequent communication by means of just such commercial caravans as that which passed along the ancient road and purchased Joseph as a slave from his conspiring brothers. The Code of Hammurabi, discovered in 1901 on a stone column at Susa, throws a flood of light on the Law of Moses as given in the Pentateuch. Hammurabi has been identified with Amraphel, King of Shinar, Genesis, 14:1, thus making him contemporary with Abraham. As Professor Driver says:—"The civilization, including the history, the institutions, the art, and the society of ancient Babylonia and Assyria, is now known to us in many respects more completely than that of ancient Egypt. Mr. Leonard King's *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, King of Babylon in the twenty-second century B. C., contains almost as vivid a picture of life and character as do the *Life and Letters* of some statesman or prelate deceased among ourselves a few years ago." [1]

The Code, elaborate in its details, which specify offenses and punishments, resembles in many ways the contents of Leviticus and shows that the Law of Moses was for the Jews a Code such as other peoples possessed in even earlier times. Inscriptions have been found containing records of Kings mentioned in Genesis, ch. 14, once pronounced, by some confident critics, mere "etymological inventions of imaginary characters," and it has been proved by these independ-

[1] S. R. Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*, The Sweich Lectures, 1908, London, 1909, p. 7.

ent sources of information that the story of the Elamitic invasion, told in Genesis, is not myth but veritable history.[1]

Concerning the relation of archæology to the Bible, in matters about which there has been discussion by the critics, we may repeat here what Professor Driver says:—"The fact is, while archæology has frequently corroborated Biblical statements, of the truth of which critics never doubted, such as Shishak's invasion of Judah, the existence of such Kings as Omri, Ahab, Jehu and Sargon, and Sennacherib's invasion of Judah, it has overthrown no conclusion, at variance with tradition, which has met with the general acceptance of critics." [2]

Archæological discoveries have brought to us a considerable amount of literature similar in contents and form to parts of the Old Testament and revealing to us much concerning the life and thoughts of men in the ancient world. In Professor Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* are many old stories, one of which, The Tale of the Two Brothers, is similar in several ways to the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.[3] Genesis, ch. 39.

A tablet in ancient Sumerian, now in the Yale University collection and translated by Dr. A. T. Clay, throws light on the parable of the Prodigal Son. The tablet contains the oldest laws known, antedating by hundreds of years even the Code of Hammurabi. The laws of inheritance were of great importance, as we know from the Old Testament, Numbers 27:1–11, 36:1–10, and are given at length in the Code of Hammurabi. This

[1] G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, is a reliable source of information on this and similar subjects.

[2] S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, New York, 1914, preface, p. xxi.

[3] Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, Second Series, London, 1895, pp. 36ff.

older Sumerian Code shows, as Dr. Clay says, that the parable has a legal aspect not "surmised by the commentarians." The law concerning inheritance reads:—

"If a son say unto his father and his mother, [thou art] not my father, not my mother; from the house, field, plantation, servants, property, animals he shall go forth, and his portion to its full amount he [the father] shall give him. His father and his mother shall say to him 'not our son.' From the neighborhood of the house he shall go."

The Prodigal Son received his share, and then went to a far country, in accordance with the law, and not as the result of an importunate demand on an indulgent father. "It heightens the contrast between the father, who, on the one hand, complied with what the law permitted the son to demand; and, on the other hand, the forgiving father, who rejoiced over his return, not as a legal heir, but as a son." [1] Another ancient inscription on clay, in the Yale collection, which dates earlier than 2000 B. C., is a dialogue, the earliest example known, between a father and his son. Tablets concerning dreams and their interpretations have also been found, which are of great interest in connection with the many dreams of which the Bible contains accounts.

The Babylonian epic of Creation has been known since 1872, when George Smith of the British Museum deciphered tablets telling of the Flood, and it is easily accessible in translated form.[2] Since then a number of additional inscriptions containing Creation and Eden stories have rewarded the work of the archæologists. The excavations of the University of

[1] A. T. Clay, *Yale Alumni Weekly*, May 7, 1915.
[2] G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, p. 235 etc.

Pennsylvania on the site of Nippur brought to light many tablets, on some of which are accounts of Creation, Paradise and the Deluge, which have been published, the most recently deciphered inscription being presented by Dr. Barton, who says of it, and of the other tablets found at Nippur:—"This tablet, together with those discovered by Poebel and Langdon . . . proves that at Nippur there existed in the third millennium B. C. a cycle of creation myths."[1]

These, and many more things which help us to understand the Bible, have become known from the discovery and reading of inscriptions, which have been preserved in clay and stone for thousands of years, and which antedate, not only any existing copies of the Biblical writings, but antedate also by many centuries the most ancient of those writings. The Babylonian narratives of Creation, and the Flood are older than the Hebrew, and show the existence of those stories in literary form in the East, probably before any such book as Genesis ever contained the record of them. There is also a Babylonian story [2] similar to that of Job.

From many examples of ancient literature, preserved on the tablets dug in recent years from the ruins of ancient cities, in the plains of Babylonia, and elsewhere, we know that, long before the time of Abraham, the world had reached a high state of development in all that concerned the organization and government of society, and that the human soul was finding expression in art and literature. Not rude, barbarous, uncivilized

[1] "Material concerning Creation and Paradise." *The American Journal of Theology*, October, 1917, p. 595.

[2] This Babylonian poem may be found in G. A. Barton's *Archæology and the Bible*, pp. 392–297, and is discussed at length by Professor Morris Jastrow in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 25, pp. 135–191, "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job."

and undeveloped were the people from whom came the Old Testament writings, and this is shown clearly, not only by the remains of Babylonia and Egypt, whether in inscriptions, in examples of sculpture and design, in magnificent structures like the Pyramids or Sphinx, or superb ruins like the temples of Egypt and the palaces of the Pharaohs, but it is shown also by what the Old Testament writings tell us concerning themselves.

The form in which we have these ancient Hebrew books is almost certainly, in many cases, not that in which they first appeared in writing, for they have come to us through the work of many editors and copyists in the intervening centuries. We may not be certain that they are contemporary accounts of the events of which they tell, but we do know that what we have has been preserved by the reverent efforts of men who regarded these writings as inspired by God, and therefore holy and authoritative, and as containing the history of God's dealings with his chosen people, and the utterances of great men, through whom the word of God was communicated. That the past should never be forgotten and that the history of Israel and its prophets should be preserved, is the meaning of the words:—

"We have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children, telling to the generation to come the praises of Jehovah, and his strength, and his wondrous works that he hath done." Psalm 78:3, 4.

That special care was taken to preserve writings is shown in Exodus 17:14, where Jehovah tells Moses to "write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua"; and in:—

"Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim, the king of Judah hath burned." Jeremiah 36:28.

That writings were collected in later times and protected against loss is indicated by the following statement, in which what was evidently a literary commission of King Hezekiah is mentioned in connection with a supplementary collection of proverbs:—

"These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Proverbs 25:1.

Added to this collection are Proverbs ch. 30, The Words of Agur and ch. 31, The Words of King Lemuel. This note about Hezekiah, who was himself a poet (see Isaiah 38:9), is of great interest because of what it suggests concerning a library at Jerusalem and a trained group of copyists such as were the scribes in Nineveh. Professor Sayce thinks that there must have been a royal library at Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah, and says:—

"The vassalage of Judah to the king of Assyria in the reign of Ahaz had necessarily led to the introduction of Assyrian culture into Jerusalem. Ahaz himself had led the way. In the court of the palace he had erected a sundial, a copy of the gnomons, which had been used for centuries in the civilized kingdoms of the Euphrates and the Tigris. But the erection of the sundial was not the only sign of Assyrian influence. The most striking feature of Assyrian and Babylonian culture was the libraries, where scribes were kept constantly employed, not only in writing and compiling new books, but in copying and reëditing older ones. The 'men of Hezekiah' who 'copied out' the proverbs of Solomon per-

formed duties exactly similar to the royal scribes in Nineveh." [1]

Hezekiah is credited with having done much to restore and preserve the customs of the past. We are told, II Kings, chs. 18–20, and II Chronicles, chs. 29–32, that he destroyed the brazen serpent, which Moses had made, and which the people worshipped, restored the laws of Moses, the services of the Temple, the observance of the Passover, and "commanded the Levites to sing praises unto Jehovah with the words of David and Asaph the seer." He likewise believed in civic improvements and "made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city." II Kings 20:20. We see in these references evidence that literature was preserved, 1, by oral transmission, 2, by care on the part of authors and scribes, and 3, by special care in collecting on the part of authorities and commissions like those of Hezekiah.

We now come to what is one of the most interesting facts concerning ancient Hebrew literature and that is, that what we know as the Old Testament, which is composed of the three sacred collections of the Jews, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, is, with a few exceptions, all that has come down to us of what we know, indirectly, from the literary qualities of the extant books, and from evident quotations, and directly, from the names of other books referred to in the Old Testament, must have been a highly developed and diversified literature. The oldest Hebrew inscriptions found are those on the Moabite Stone, found in 1868, and the Siloam inscription, found in 1880. The former is now in the Louvre and dates from the time of Ahab,

[1] *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 4th edition, London, 1894, pp. 475, 476.

about 850 B. C. It is Mesha's account of a revolt mentioned in II Kings 3:4, 5. The inscription which is quite long contains much of the deepest interest to students of the language and the contents of the Old Testament. The Siloam inscription, found in 1880 on the wall of a tunnel connecting the Pool of Siloam with the Virgin's Well at Jerusalem, is now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople. It is believed to date from the time of Hezekiah, 700 B. C. who built a conduit. The inscription records the completing of such a conduit drilled through the rock.[1]

In Numbers 21:27–30, we have a quotation from an old collection of proverbs that had been preserved orally or in writing. Evident quotations, either from oral transmission or from earlier writings, are the Song of the Sword, Genesis 4:23, 24, and the Song of the Well, Numbers 21:17–18, and such poetical passages as the words of Isaac to Jacob, Genesis, 27: 27–29, 39–40. It is probable that such passages as the Blessing of Jacob, Genesis, ch. 49 and the Song by the Sea, Exodus, ch. 15, the Song of Deborah, Judges, ch. 5, and others, were preserved in books from which the writers of our present books took them. That was the way in which the present book of Psalms was formed. Poems were selected from earlier collections in which they had been preserved.

Two books, which were themselves collections of writings, are mentioned as sources, one is the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, quoted in Numbers 21:14, the other is the Book of Jasher which is referred to twice, in Joshua 10:13, as the source of Joshua's address to the sun and moon, and in II Samuel 1:18, as

[1] These inscriptions in full are to be found in *Archæology and the Bible*, G. A. Barton, pp. 363, 377.

the source of the Song of the Bow, or David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan. Except for these quotations, the two collections are lost. Existing books to which the title Book of Jasher is given are, one of them, a collection of legends and stories based on the Old Testament, and dating from the 12th century, the other an 18th century forgery.

That there was a collection of psalms attributed to Asaph is indicated by the existence in Psalms of such poems, evidently taken from an earlier collection. In I Chronicles 16:7, David gives thanks unto Jehovah, "by the hand of Asaph and his brethren," but the psalm then sung, made up of Psalms 105:1–15, 96:1–13, 106:1, and 106:47–48, is not stated to have been by him, the passages referred to, in the Psalter, being all of them anonymous. There were doubtless other collections of poetry in which were preserved the poems, other than psalms, of which a considerable number are given in the Old Testament.

In I Kings 4:29–34, is a remarkable passage concerning Solomon which contains references to what we must suppose to have been writings on a variety of subjects. Except for such as may be contained in the Old Testament, these works of Solomon have been lost. The passage is:—

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea-shore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman,[1] and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his fame was in all the nations round about. And he spake three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a

[1] To Ethan is ascribed Psalm 89 and to Heman Psalm 88.

thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of birds, and of creeping things, and of fishes. And there came of all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, who had heard of his wisdom."

Besides these general statements concerning other literature by which the Old Testament writings were surrounded there are in the historical books, especially the later ones, Chronicles, references by title to books and authors from which information has been drawn, or to which the reader is directed for a fuller account than that given. Here are the titles of some books thus mentioned:—

I Samuel 10:25, a book written by Samuel telling "the manner of the Kingdom," perhaps the "book of Samuel the seer" (mentioned in I Chronicles 29:29).

I Kings 11:41, "the book of the acts of Solomon."

I Kings 14:29, "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah." (Often referred to in I and II Chronicles.)

II Kings 15:15, "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel." (Often referred to in I and II Chronicles.)

I Chronicles 5:17, "genealogies in the days of Jotham King of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, king of Israel."

I Chronicles 23:27, "the last words [or acts] of David."

I Chronicles 27:24, "the chronicles of king David."

I Chronicles 29:29, "the history of Samuel the seer;" "the history of Nathan the prophet," "the history of Gad the seer."

II Chronicles 9:29, "the history of Nathan the prophet," "the prophecy of Ahijah, the Shilonite," "the visions of Iddo the seer."

II Chronicles 12:15, "the histories of Shemaiah the prophet" and of "Iddo the seer after the manner of genealogies."

II Chronicles 13:22, "the commentary [Midrash] of the prophet Iddo."

II Chronicles 16:11, "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel."

II Chronicles 20:34, "the history of Jehu, the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel."

II Chronicles 24:27, "the commentary [Midrash] of the book of the kings."

II Chronicles 26:22, "the acts of Uzziah," by Isaiah the prophet.

II Chronicles 32:32, "the vision of Isaiah the prophet—in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel." (Compare Isaiah 36–39, with II Kings 18:13–20:21.)

II Chronicles 33:18, 19, "the acts of Manasseh . . . among the acts of the kings of Israel"—"his prayer . . . written in the history of Hozai" [or the seers]. The Prayer of Manasseh is preserved in the Apocrypha.

II Chronicles 35:25, "the lamentations." (Not the book in the Bible called the Lamentations of Jeremiah.)

I Maccabees 16:24, "chronicles" of John the High Priest.

II Maccabees 2:23, "five books" of Jason of Cyrene.

The term "Midrash" applied to the book of Iddo, II Chronicles 13:22, and to the book of Kings, II Chronicles 24:27, is perhaps better translated "story" as in the King James Version, than "commentary" as in the Revised Version. Such books as Tobit and Judith are properly "Midrashim," that is, stories with emphasis laid on the didactic or moral aspects of the various incidents. It has been noted by critics that the moral teaching is the motive of most of the stories told in Chronicles.[1]

Oral transmission played an important part in keeping alive in the minds of the people the history of their past, and many of the stories contained in the Bible

[1] Examples may be found in II Chronicles 21:10, 24:24, 26:5, etc.

circulated among the peoples, not only of Israel and Judah, but also of the surrounding nations. The Exodus must have been a constant source of interest and the fact that we have three accounts, in different styles, of the plagues of Egypt is not without literary significance. In Exodus 7–15, the account is epic, in Psalm 78, lyric, and in the Wisdom of Solomon chs. 11, 17, 18, is another account which has been called the picturesque. These are of different dates, but show what use was made of the material. There were probably oral or written stories and songs about the patriarchs and Moses, and also about Samuel, Samson, David, Solomon, Saul, and other heroes. Such a song is mentioned in I Samuel 18:7. Ballads and folk-songs existed, all of which, whether preserved orally, as was probably the Song of the Well, Numbers 21:17, or in writing, as was probably the story of Balaam, which we have in Numbers chs. 22–24, in a form part prose and part verse, were accessible to the Hebrew writers of the Old Testament.

From the evidence afforded by the text of the Old Testament there were probably collections of writings, in different parts of Palestine, which contained local versions of histories or laws, and which may have been the varying sources of those portions, especially of the Pentateuch, which scholars generally regard as parallel, but distinct. The Pentateuch is ascribed to-day to four main sources designated as J(ahvistic), because God is called Jahveh in these passages, E(lohistic), because God is called Elohim, D(euteronomy), and P(riestly), the last so named because concerned especially with religious regulations. To different sources are ascribed, for example, the two accounts of creation, Genesis 1:1–2:3, and 2:4–25, and the versions of the Commandments,

Exodus 20:1–17, Exodus 34:1–27, Leviticus 19:1–37, Deuteronomy 5:1–21.

Not only from books now lost did the Old Testament writers draw, but also from other books of the Old Testament, unless indeed, as may be possible, the same passage from a lost book was taken by more than one author or editor. We cannot tell which really occurred, because usually no acknowledgment of indebtedness was made. Isaiah contains a long passage which occurs in II Kings (cf. Isaiah chs. 36–39, with II Kings 18:13–20:21), ch. 37 of Isaiah and ch. 19 of II Kings being the same. I Chronicles 10:1–12, is evidently from I Samuel 31:1–13, II Chronicles ch. 10, is evidently from I Kings 12:1–19. In fact the whole of I and II Chronicles is based on the older books, I and II Samuel, and I and II Kings, as well as on other books, specifically mentioned, and doubtless still others not mentioned. The closing verses of II Chronicles appear as the opening verses of Ezra. In Micah 4:1–3, we have the same passage as Isaiah 2:2–4, the most familiar portion of it being:—

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

A less familiar passage evidently related to the other, occurs in Joel 3:9–10:—

"Prepare war; stir up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near, let them come up. Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears."

There are examples of the double use of the same earlier material in the collections of religious poetry

which we have in the Psalms, which consists, as the doxologies at the end of each book indicate, of five divisions, 1–41; 42–72; 73–89; 90–106; 107–150, each of which was probably an independent collection. Psalm 14 of the first book appears again in the second book as Psalm 53. Psalm 70 is the same as Psalm 40: 13–17. Psalm 108 is composed of Psalms 57:7–11, and 60:5–12. The versions are slightly different in the two appearances of the same Psalm and the duplications are always in different books. Similarly the poem of David, which is Psalm 18, is put into its historical setting in II Samuel 22, in a different version.

Associated with the Old Testament, but not regarded by the Jews as part of their Scriptures, are the books of the Apocrypha, which found their way into the Bible, of the early Church, and which, with the exception of the Prayer of Manasses and I and II Esdras, are in the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, because in the Vulgate. Protestant versions place the Apocryphal books in a group between the Old and the New Testaments.

From the references to lost books, and from the use of materials in our Old Testament we see that there existed earlier, and also contemporaneously, a considerable literature, of which we have in the Bible only such examples as have been preserved for us by the reverent care of men who made it their business to see that the best thought of the best minds should be to the race a perpetual possession, and that the records of the Jews should be preserved. To this literature of the ancient world the archæologists have added considerable stores of the writings from the extensive literatures of Egypt and Babylonia contemporary with, or earlier than the records of the Jews.

Of various dates, some doubtless fairly early, and others much later than any parts of the Old Testament, are a number of books containing material concerning much of the contents of the Old Testament, and purporting to give information about the prophets, patriarchs and others, supplementing what we learn from the Bible. These books in many cases show the thought of the time concerning matters to which the Bible refers as of general knowledge, but about which it has little to say, for example, Satan and the sons of God, and the councils in Heaven, spoken of in Job 1 and 2; I Kings 22:19; Zechariah 3:1; the functions of Satan as mentioned in I Chronicles 21:1, which refers to the same event as II Samuel 24:1; the war in heaven and the fall of the bad angels, referred to as well-known stories in II Peter 2:4, and Jude v. 6; the vision of judgment, Jude vs. 14, 15, quoted from the book of Enoch; the quarrel between Michael and the devil, Jude v. 9, a story which Origen said was from the Assumption of Moses; the contest between Moses, and Jannes and Jambres, II Timothy 3:8, who are not named elsewhere in the Bible.[1] There are many things spoken of in the Old Testament which were evidently a part of the literature or thought of the time, or of earlier times.

Dr. R. H. Charles,[2] refers to the following beliefs which find expression in the Bible or in early Christian writings, as being either partially or wholly elucidated by the Secrets of Enoch, written about the beginning of the Christian era, and preserved to us, so far as is yet known, only in Slavonic: 1. Death was caused by

[1] They were the sorcerers of Exodus 7:11, Jewish tradition states.

[2] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, translated from Slavonic by W. R. Morfill. Edited with Introduction and notes by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.

sin; 2. The millennium; 3. Of the creation of man with free will and knowledge of good and evil; 4. The Seraphim; 5. The intercession of saints; 6. The seven heavens, an early Jewish and Christian belief.[1]

How extensive the extant literature on these and other Biblical topics is, may easily be ascertained by examining the contents of The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha as given by Dr. Charles in his work of that title. In volume II will be found the following, classified by the nature of the books:—

Law—The Book of Jubilees.

Legend
- The Letter of Aristeas.
- The Books of Adam and Eve.
- The Martyrdom of Isaiah.

Apocalypses
- Enoch.
- The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
- The Sibylline Oracles.
- The Assumption of Moses.
- II Enoch, or Secrets of Enoch.
- II Baruch or Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.
- III Baruch or Greek Apocalypse of Baruch.
- IV Ezra.

Psalms—Psalms of Solomon.

Wisdom Books
- IV Maccabees.
- Pirke Aboth, or Sayings of the Fathers.
- The Story of Ahikar.

History—Fragments of a Zadokite Work.

Many of these books, while not themselves very an-

[1] Cf. such expressions as "the third heaven," II Corinthians 12:2, and "the heaven of heavens" Deuteronomy 10:14; I Kings 8:27, Psalm 148:4.

cient, yet contain ancient stories some of which underlie the Bible books.[1]

[1] As do also such books as were published in a volume bearing the title *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament*, found in the Armenian Manuscripts of the Library of St. Lazarus, translated into English by the Rev. Jacques Issaverdens, Venice, 1901. In this book are found the following:—

The Book of Adam.
The History of Assaneth.
The History of Moses.
Concerning the Deaths of the Prophets—Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, Daniel, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.
Concerning King Solomon.
A Short History of the Prophet Elias.
Concerning the Prophet Jeremiah.
The Vision of Enoch the Just.
The Seventh Vision of Daniel.
The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.
The Third Book of Esdras.
Inquiries made by the Prophet Esdras.

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

BACK of the New Testament is the Old Testament, and not only this, but an extensive literature that came into existence after the latest events of which the Old Testament treats. The Old Testament Scriptures are concerned, except for the opening chapters of Genesis, with the personages and events of about seventeen hundred years, from Abraham to Nehemiah; the New Testament, except perhaps the book of Revelation, with the personages and events of probably less than one hundred years. The Old Testament, while containing many biographies, falls much of it in the domain of national history, political as well as religious, though chiefly the latter. The New Testament, some of which falls in the domain of history, belongs rather to biography, containing as it does, except Revelation, accounts of the birth, life, teachings, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the efforts to promulgate and interpret those teachings, and to organize a Church founded upon them. The Revelation, a type of literature represented in the Old Testament in Daniel, and in the Apocrypha in II Esdras, sets forth the events of the future as visions; there are to be a new heaven and a new earth, in which God shall dwell with man, "and death shall be no more; neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more." Revelation 21:4.

To the period between the Old Testament and the New belong some of the books of the Apocrypha. The

books of the Maccabees give us the history of the reaction against Greek power and influences. The Persian gave way to the Greek who was succeeded by the Roman. These changes from the conditions in the time of Ezra bring us to the Palestine of Jesus and his disciples. The four centuries immediately preceding the Christian era saw not only changes in the political conditions, but also the development of certain ideas which are later more clearly set forth in the New Testament. It is in the Wisdom of Solomon that we find expressed such thoughts as these on personal immortality:—

"But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,
And no torment shall touch them.
In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died;
And their departure was accounted *to be their* hurt,
And their journeying away from us *to be their* ruin:
But they are in peace.
For even if in the sight of men they be punished,
Their hope is full of immortality;
And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good;
Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy of himself,
As gold in the furnace he proved them,
And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them.
And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth,
And as sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro,
They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples;
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore." The Wisdom of Solomon 3:1–8.

In Daniel we read:—

"They that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." Daniel 12:3.

Not as new ideas then came these words in the New Testament:—

"Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." Matthew 13:43.

"When the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Matthew 19:28.

"Or know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" I Corinthians 6:2.

The immortality of the soul is set forth in the Old Testament in a number of passages,[1] such as the following:—

"For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol;
Neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption.
Thou wilt show me the path of life:
In thy presence is fulness of joy;
In thy right-hand there are pleasures for evermore." Psalm 16:10, 11.

"But God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol;
For he will receive me." Psalm 49:15.

"As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness;
I shall be satisfied when I awake, with *beholding* thy form." Psalm 17:15.

"But as for me I know that my Redeemer [Heb. *goel*, vindicator] liveth,
And at last he will stand up upon the earth:
And after my skin, *even* this *body*, is destroyed,
Then without my flesh shall I see God;
Whom I, even I, shall see, on my side,
And mine eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger." Job 19:25–27.

[1] Critics express doubts as to whether such passages do not refer rather to national deliverance, or to individual escape from danger or sickness. There is danger of attributing to Old Testament writers views, derived from the New Testament, which the Old Testament writers may never have held.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the body is a clear and definite belief of the mother and her seven sons, who suffered death rather than eat swine's flesh at the King's command. We read that the second son said to his murderer:—

"Thou, miscreant, dost release us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for his laws, unto an eternal renewal of life." II Maccabees 7:9.

The fourth son said:—

"It is good to die at the hands of men and look for the hopes which are *given* by God, that we shall be raised up again by him; for, as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection unto life." II Maccabees 7:14.

This last is the idea in the Gospel of John:—

"They that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment." John 5:29.

This idea is expressed also in the Old Testament:—

"And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Daniel 12:2.

Compare the ideas of national, and also personal, resurrection contained in the following passages:—[1]

"Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew

[1] A distinction must be recognized between resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul, which are quite separate ideas. See also the vision of the valley of dry bones, Ezekiel, ch. 37.

of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead." Isaiah 26:19.

"Come, and let us return unto Jehovah; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him." Hosea 6:1, 2.

The relation of the New Testament to the Apocrypha, which will be discussed a little further on, is mentioned here as connecting the Old with the New, as forming part of the background of the New, and as showing that the doctrines of personal immortality and the resurrection of the body, so all-important in the New Testament, were current in Palestine, in the time of Jesus, and earlier, the Sadducees constituting a distinct sect, among the peculiarities of which was the fact that they did not believe in the resurrection. Matthew 22:23–32.

There is in the New Testament no quotation from or reference to any of the books of the Apocrypha, by name, or as authority, although there are many passages, such as those already quoted, from which we are almost sure that the Apocryphal books, or some of them, were known to the New Testament writers. The Apocrypha may be regarded as a direct literary influence on the New Testament.

The ancient Scriptures composed of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings, were to the early Christians, as to the Jews, inspired books. Their view of them is expressed in a phrase, in Hebrews 5:12, "the oracles of God," which is repeated in the declaration:—"What advantage then hath the Jew? . . . much every way: first of all, that they were entrusted with the oracles of God." Romans 3:1–2. Jesus quoted "the Scriptures," referred to "the Law," "the Prophets"

and "the Psalms," and said to his disciples:—"Ye search the Scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life." John 5:39. Paul writes to Timothy:—"from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." II Timothy 3:15. In time the Epistles of Paul came to be regarded as inspired, and are referred to as "scriptures":—

" . . . even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, wrote unto you; as also in all *his* epistles, speaking in them of these things; wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast wrest, as *they do* also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction." II Peter 3:15–16.

Other writings were also regarded as inspired, and collectively they became known as the "New Covenant," in distinction from the "Old Covenant," II Corinthians 3:6–14, or the Old Testament and the New Testament.

Just as Antiochus Epiphanes (d. 164 B. C.) had endeavored to eradicate the Jewish religion by destroying the Hebrew Scriptures, I Maccabees 1:44–57, and putting to death those who were found possessing a copy, so Diocletian (d. 313 A. D.) endeavored to destroy Christianity. Eusebius wrote of this effort:—

"I saw with my own eyes the houses of prayer thrown down and razed to their foundations, and the inspired and sacred scriptures consigned to the fire in the open market place." *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 8, ch. 2.

In spite of all these attempts to destroy them, the Scriptures, Old and New, remain to-day in literature,

what they have been for centuries, the world's most cherished spiritual possession.

Let us see what the literary background and immediate surroundings of the New Testament were. For convenience we will discuss them as follows:—1. The Old Testament, 2. The Apocrypha and other non-canonical writings, 3. Stories, preserved in other ancient literature, 4. Greek literature, 5. Authors like Josephus and Philo, 6. Lost writings of Paul and other early Christians, including "Sayings" of Jesus. These groups are not always mutually exclusive, but they will serve our purpose.[1]

1. *The Old Testament.* There are in the New Testament quotations from thirty of the Old Testament books. Some of the quotations are literal, others are what may be termed composite, being made up of a combination of several passages. Examples of the latter are Romans 9:32–33, which combines Isaiah 8:14, and 28:16, as does also I Peter 2:6–8. It is likely that Mark 1:2–3, is a combination of Malachi 3:1 and Isaiah 40:3, perhaps from some manual.[2] One of the most interesting instances of composite quoting from the Old Testament is found in Romans 3:10–12. Paul quotes Psalm 14:1–3. He then quotes Psalms 5:9, 140:3, 10:7, Isaiah 59:7–8, Psalm 36:1. This composite passage found its way into the Septuagint version of Psalm 14, and thence into the Vulgate. It is included in all translations of the Vulgate and through the Great Bible passed into the Psalter in the Book of Common Prayer, where it remains.

[1] For a more detailed discussion of this subject with additional references, see James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, New York, 1914, pp. 21–35.

[2] For a discussion of this see James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 23–24.

2. *Quotations from non-canonical books.* Examples are found in Jude as mentioned before:—[1]

"But Michael the archangel, when contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgment, but said, The Lord rebuke thee." Jude v. 9.

Origen said [2] that this incident is from the Assumption of Moses.

Enoch is quoted as an apparently well-known book. The passage is:—

"And to these also Enoch, the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying, Behold the Lord came with ten thousands of his holy ones, to execute judgment upon all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their works of ungodliness which they have ungodly wrought, and of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." Jude vs. 14–15.

The verses in Enoch are:—

"And behold! He cometh with ten thousands of [His] holy ones
To execute judgment upon all,
And to destroy all the ungodly:
And to convict all flesh
Of all the works of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed,
And of all the hard things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." I Enoch 1:9.[3]

There are many passages in the New Testament which are strikingly similar in idea and language to passages in I Enoch. A list is given by Dr. Charles in an appendix to his edition. The following will

[1] P. 37.
[2] *De Principiis*, III, ii, 1.
[3] *The Book of Enoch* or *I Enoch*, edited by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1912.

show how close the ideas of the canonical and of the non-canonical books were to each other:—

" . . . the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Matthew 19:28.

" . . . when they see that son of man sitting on the throne of his glory." Enoch 62:5.

" . . . woe unto that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had not been born." Matthew 26:24.

"And where the resting place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits?

"It had been good for them if they had not been born." Enoch 38:2.

"For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgment unto the Son." John 5:22.

"And he sat on the throne of his glory,

And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man." Enoch 69:27.

"All things are naked and laid open before the eyes of him with whom we have to do." Hebrews 4:13.

"All things are naked and open in Thy sight, and all things Thou seest, and nothing can hide itself from Thee." Enoch 9:5.

" . . . who being the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power . . ." Hebrews 1:3.

"For she [wisdom] is a breath of the power of God, And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty; . . .

For she [wisdom] is an effulgence from everlasting light, And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,

And an image of his goodness.

And she being one hath power to do all things." The Wisdom of Solomon 7:25–27.

"It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." Hebrews 10:31.

"For even if for the present time I shall remove from me the punishment of men, yet shall I not escape the hands of the Almighty, either living or dead." II Maccabees, 6:26.

These and other passages indicate that some ideas which are commonly supposed to have been original with the New Testament writers were the thought of the time and had been expressed before. The following passages probably indicate that there was a "'small apocalypse,' consisting of material set in the ordinary triple division common to apocalyptic literature (cf. Apoc. 9:12, 11:14)." [1]

Mark 13:7–8 = Matthew 24:6–8 = Luke 21:9–11.
Mark 13:14–20 = Matthew 24:15–22 = (Luke 21:20–24).
Mark 13:24–27 = Matthew 24:29–31 = (Luke 21:25–27,28).

There is perhaps evidence of the existence of a lost wisdom book in Luke 11:49–51:—

"Therefore also said the wisdom of God, I will send unto them prophets and apostles; and *some* of them they shall kill and persecute," etc.

From another lost book perhaps came John 7:38:—

"He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, from within him shall flow rivers of living water."

These and other passages from the New Testament are similar to the words of Ecclesiasticus:—

"If a man love me he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." John 14:23.

[1] James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 207–209. The three divisions of the Apocalypse are 1. The beginning of woes (ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων), 2. Tribulations (θλίψις), 3. The coming of the Lord (παρουσία).

"They that fear the Lord will not disobey his words;
And they that love him will keep his ways." Ecclesiasticus 2:15.

"Rejoice with them that rejoice; Weep with them that weep." Romans 12:15.

"Be not wanting to them that weep;
And mourn with them that mourn." Ecclesiasticus 7:34.

"Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye who are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of gentleness; looking to thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Galatians 6:1.

"Reproach not a man when he turneth from sin:
Remember that we are all worthy of punishment." Ecclesiasticus 8:5.

"Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers: For what fellowship have righteousness and iniquity? or what communion hath light with darkness?" II Corinthians 6:14.

"What fellowship shall the wolf have with the lamb?
So *is* the sinner unto the godly." Ecclesiasticus 13:17.

"He hath put down princes from their thrones,
And hath exalted them of low degree." Luke 1:52.

"The Lord cast down the thrones of rulers,
And set the meek in their stead." Ecclesiasticus 10:14.

"Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Matthew 11:28–30.

"Put your neck under the yoke,
And let your soul receive instruction,
She is hard at hand to find,
Behold with your eyes,
How that I laboured but a little,
"And found for myself much rest." Ecclesiasticus 51:26–27.

"I am the bread of life; he that cometh to me shall not

hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." John 6:35.

"They that eat me shall yet be hungry;
And they that drink me shall yet be thirsty." Ecclesiasticus 24:21.

The following passage:—

"Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,
And *which* entered not into the heart of man,
Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him." I Corinthians 2:9.

was said by Origen (in a comment on Matthew 27:9) to be from a lost book, the Secrets of Elijah the Prophet. Chrysostom and Theophylact state that the words are either from a lost book, or are a paraphrase of Isaiah 52:15, while Jerome thought them to be a paraphrase of Isaiah 64:4.

"Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee." Ephesians 5:14.

has been attributed to the lost Secrets of Elijah, to a paraphrase of Isaiah 60:1, 19, 20, or to a Christian hymn.

3. *Ancient Stories.* Many of these have been preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and in Rabbinical literature.

The Ahikar stories contain parallels to the parable of the fig tree that bore no fruit, Luke 13:6–9, the parable of the evil servant, Matthew 24:45–51, and Luke 12:47, and to the story of Judas.[1] There was also

[1] *The Story of Ahikar*, edited by J. Rendel Harris, London, 1898, p. x. This story is given also in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles.

a great body of legends both oral and written, current among the people, and discussions and opinions of the Rabbis, especially concerning the interpretation of the Pentateuch.

4. *Quotations from Greek Poets.* Paul quotes, Acts 17:28, "certain even of your own poets," as having said of God "For we are also his offspring," a statement made by Aratus in the opening of his poem the Phænomena, and by Cleanthes in his Hymn to Zeus. He quotes, Titus 1:12, the Cretan poet Epimenides, "a prophet of their own," (who, according to Jerome and Epiphanius, is quoted by Callimachus in his Hymn to Zeus), as saying:—

"Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons."

An iambic trimeter occurs in the Greek of I Corinthians 15:33:—

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί.

This is found in a fragment of Menander, and is translated:—

"Evil companionships corrupt good morals."

An hexameter line, perhaps a quotation, occurs in James 1:17.

Πᾶσα δόσις ἀγαθὴ καὶ πᾶν δώρημα τέλειον.

"Every good gift and every perfect gift."

In I Timothy 3:16, and II Timothy 2:11–12, the Greek shows unmistakably quotations from a Christian hymn, and I Corinthians 15:42–43, may, from its form, be such a quotation.

5. *Influence of Josephus and Philo.* Writers such as

Josephus, are from similarities of ideas and language, thought by some to have been well-known to the authors of II Peter, and the Gospels of Luke and John.[1]

The teachings of Christianity influenced, and were influenced by, philosophic ideas of the early centuries. In the writings of Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, we find many similarities of thought to the Gospel of John and to the Epistle to the Hebrews, both of which use concerning Jesus expressions used by Philo of the Logos of God. The writings commonly known as Hermes Trismegistus, a collection of Christian Neoplatonic works of probably the latter part of the first century, contain ideas of God that are much the same as those of John, Hebrews and Revelation; for example, in Hermes Trismegistus we read:—

"But the Mind, The God, being masculine-feminine, originating Life and Light, begat by Word another Mind Creator, Who being God of the Fire and Spirit, created Seven Administrators, encompassing in circles the sensible world; and their administration is called Fate." Poemandres 1:9.

In Revelation we read of "the seven Spirits of God," and the seven stars," 1:20, 3:1, "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God," 4:5, "The seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth." 5:6.

6. *Lost Writings.* A lost epistle of Paul is probably referred to in I Corinthians 5:9, "I wrote unto you in my epistle" and there may easily have been other epistles lost,[2] just as we have probably lost some of the

[1] In regard to Josephus critics differ, some maintaining that similarities of language between Josephus and the New Testament are merely coincidences. See James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 28–31.

[2] See Colossians 4:16, where a letter from Laodicea is mentioned.

writings evidently referred to by Luke 1:1, where he says "many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us." It seems certain that II Corinthians, chs. 10–13, is a separate letter and belongs, not where it is now placed, but between I and II Corinthians. There were therefore probably four letters of Paul to the Corinthians, of which we possess three. The necessity of authenticating his epistles, under some circumstances, is indicated by Paul in his expression II Thessalonians 3:17, " . . . with mine own hand, which is a token in every epistle." Paul asked Timothy to bring him "the books, especially the parchments," II Timothy, 4:13. We do not know what books or rolls were meant. Perhaps they were copies of the Scriptures. That Paul was a scholar is well known, but the words of Festus, Acts, 26:24, "thy much learning" may also be translated "those many writings," perhaps referring to parchments, which Paul was accustomed to carry with him in his travels. He had left such a lot of parchments at Troas and desired Timothy to bring them to him. The discovery of "Sayings" of Jesus in 1897 and 1904 [1] may be connected with a statement of Paul, Acts 20:35, when he quotes a "saying" that is not included in any collection we have, but which was well-known to his hearers at Ephesus, " . . . remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he himself said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'" Paul was not quoting anything he had himself heard.

The Formation of the New Testament

Consider now how the New Testament came into being. Like the Old, it consists of a collection of books

[1] See below, p. 67.

written, for the most part, independently of each other, but in process of time grouped together and regarded as authoritative and inspired. Among the early Christian writers there were differences of opinion concerning the authenticity or inspiration of some of the books now included in the New Testament. The earliest list known of the books recognized by the Christian church is the Muratorian Fragment first published in 1740 by L. A. Muratori. It was found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan and is thought to date from about 170 A. D. The names of Matthew and Mark are evidently torn off, the list beginning with "The Gospel of St. Luke, the physician, companion of St. Paul, stands third." The Gospel of St. John comes fourth. Next comes Acts, then thirteen Epistles of Paul. The Fragment omits James, I and II Peter, Hebrews, and III John which were accepted later, and states "there is in circulation an Epistle to the Laodiceans and one to the Alexandrians forged in Paul's name, and several others which cannot be received in the Catholic Church. The Epistle of Jude however and two with the name of John are held in the Catholic Church. We receive also that Revelation of John and the Revelation of Peter, which latter some of our body will not allow to be read in church."

Origen (210 A. D.) omits James and Jude from his list, but includes them in other passages. Eusebius (315 A. D.) gives the list of books as now accepted, but mentions that some doubted concerning the Epistles of James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John and the Revelation. Athanasius, a contemporary of Eusebius, gives the list as we have it. Cyril (340 A. D.), Gregory Nazianzen, (375 A. D.) and Philastrius (380 A. D.) omit the Revelation, as do also the Bishops in

the Council of Laodicea (363 A. D.). Jerome (382 A. D.) gives our list, but is doubtful about the Epistle to the Hebrews. Rufinus (390 A. D.) and Augustin (394 A. D.) give our list, and the forty-four Bishops at the Council of Carthage (the third, having been preceded by the Councils of Nicæa and Laodicea) pronounce canonical the books of the New Testament as we have them.

Various lists of New Testament books from early times differ somewhat in the order in which the books are arranged. The Gospels usually are put first and the Apocalypse last, with the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the General, or Catholic Epistles, in that order, between. It was logical to group the Gospels and the Acts first, as historical books, but Jerome placed the Pauline Epistles before Acts in his arrangement, while Chrysostom placed the Pauline Epistles before the Gospels in his list. Early lists differ in the order in which they put the Gospels. Commonly, but not always, Matthew comes first, because it was supposed that this was the earliest. Chrysostom arranged the Gospels, John, Matthew, Luke, Mark, while some old Latin manuscripts give Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Almost every other arrangement is to be found, but the Council of Laodicea (363 A. D.) adopted the order of the Gospels as we are accustomed to find it.

The order of the Epistles is likewise variously given. It is thought that the form in which we have the present books of the New Testament may have been affected by editing to make them conform better to the unity of the canon. We are not concerned with these problems in this volume. They are mentioned, however, as of interest in any discussion of the New Testament as literature.

The Gospels are believed to have been written in the order 1. Mark, 2. Matthew, 3. Luke, 4. John, the last named having been, as we know from a statement of Clement of Alexandria [1] (d. about 220 A. D.), written after the other three. From the nature of the contents, as well as from tradition, and from the statements of Papias, it has been concluded that Mark was the first written, almost, but not quite, the whole of Mark being repeated by Matthew and Luke.[2]

Earlier than the Gospels, however, were some, perhaps all, of the Epistles of Paul, the earliest of which was probably the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the last the Second Epistle to Timothy, written probably from the prison in Rome, as was also the Epistle to Philemon, which states that it comes from "Paul the aged, and now a prisoner." [3]

The Arrangement of the Books of the New Testament

This is the way in which the New Testament writings are grouped. There is method in it.

Historical Books	The Gospel according to Matthew. The Gospel according to Mark. The Gospel according to Luke. The Gospel according to John. The Acts of the Apostles.

[1] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. II, p. 580.

[2] "This fact, that both Matthew and Luke omit a certain amount of material in Mark which, *ex hypothesi*, lay before them, opens up the two alternatives, viz. (*a*) that the omissions were deliberate, or (*b*) that such sections, though extant in our canonical Mark, were not added to Mark until after its use by the later synoptists." James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 193.

[3] See James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, for a modern and conservative presentation of the various views of scholars in regard to the authors and contents of the New Testament.

The Epistles of Paul to the Seven Churches
- The Epistle to the Romans.
- The First Epistle to the Corinthians.
- The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.
- The Epistle to the Galatians.
- The Epistle to the Ephesians.
- The Epistle to the Philippians.
- The Epistle to the Colossians.
- The First Epistle to the Thessalonians.
- The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.

The Pastoral Epistles of Paul
- The First Epistle to Timothy.
- The Second Epistle to Timothy.
- The Epistle to Titus.

A Personal Letter of Paul
- The Epistle to Philemon (a letter about Onesimus, a servant).

Anonymous—The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Catholic or General Epistles
- The Epistle of James "to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion."
- The First Epistle of Peter "to the Elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion."
- The Second Epistle of Peter to them of "like precious faith."
- The First Epistle of John, a Christian tract.
- The Second Epistle of John, the elder to "the elect lady and her children."
- The Third Epistle of John, the elder unto Gaius.
- The Epistle of Jude, "to them that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ."

The Apocalypse
- The Revelation of John, to show "the things which must shortly come to pass."

The Gospels

Preserved as the most important of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament are the four books called, from the word of the Angel to the Shepherds, Luke 2:10, the "Evangels" (εὐαγγελίζομαι, "I bring you good tidings," see also Matthew 4:23, Mark 1:15) or in the Saxon equivalent the "God-spells," the good-story, or Gospels. What was immediately back of the Gospels? In the Apology of Aristides (125–160? A. D.), discovered in a Syriac version on Mount Sinai, in 1889, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris, and edited by him, are many statements concerning the early Christians. Aristides mentions the twelve apostles, and says that the Christians had writings which they called "evangelic scripture." This and the statements of Papias, discussed below, are the earliest references to what were probably our Gospels. Tatian, in the latter part of the second century, prepared a Diatessaron or Harmony of the four canonical Gospels. Its purpose was to give one complete record of the life and teachings of Jesus by arranging and combining the four separate accounts.

The four books assigned to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John have from early times, owing to the nature of their contents, been classified in two groups as the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke, and the Fourth Gospel, John, because the last differs so greatly in many respects from the other three, and particularly in its religious philosophy, in presenting the person and work of Jesus. Clement of Alexandria (d. about 220 A. D.) said "that John, last of all, perceiving that only outward and bodily facts were related in the existing Gospels, being urged on by the skilled

in divine things, and inspired by God's spirit, composed a Spiritual Gospel." [1]

Although we are concerned in this volume with a presentation of some of the facts concerning the English Bible and its originals and relations as literature, it will not be out of place to repeat here concerning the Gospels the following sentences from a well-known book:—"If, after a century of modern criticism of the Gospels, it is found that, despite all differences, the four mutually supplement and mutually interpret one another, so that from their complex combination there emerges one narrative, outlining a distinct historical figure, and producing upon the mind an irresistible impression of reality, it is difficult to imagine a more convincing attestation of the records on which the Christian Church bases its faith in the person and work of its Founder than is furnished by this very fact."[2]

Irenæus, Tertullian and Clement, all of whom lived towards the end of the second century, quote from the four Gospels. The Old Latin and the Syriac, (Peshitto,) the oldest versions we have of the New Testament, both of which are as early as the second century, contained our four Gospels. These facts have an important bearing on the dates at which the written accounts of Jesus were prepared.

Earlier than the written Gospels there must have existed versions of the incidents and words. Many stories became current, which had little or no foundation in fact, and many spurious or apocryphal gospels came into existence quite early in the history of the

[1] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. II, p. 580.
[2] W. A. Stevens and E. D. Burton, *A Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study*, New York, 1911, p. iv.

Christian Church. Some of these have been preserved and may be found in *The Apocryphal New Testament.*[1] They are the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, attributed to Matthew, the Protevangelion, attributed to James, and often referred to in the early Church Fathers, the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ, purporting to be accounts of Jesus taken "from the book of Joseph the High Priest, called by some Caiphas," the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ, attributed to Thomas, the Gospel of Nicodemus, also called the Acts of Pontius Pilate. There was also a gospel to the Hebrews, not now extant. These so-called gospels are all of them early. There were yet others later.

The differences between these gospels and the four contained in the New Testament are so evident that no discussion is necessary to show why they were not also included. These non-canonical gospels show, however, something of the mass of material which soon came to exist, both oral and written, concerning Jesus. It has been conjectured that among the immediate followers of Jesus, and in the various groups of Christians, which, as time went on, came to be formed, there must have been some substantially consistent and uniform account of the life and teachings that was promulgated orally from the testimony of those who had actually seen and heard the things whereof they spoke.

[1] Printed, London, 1820, for William Hone and reprinted 1906. Other writings included in *The Apocryphal New Testament* are the Apostles' Creed in its ancient state, the Apostles' Creed in its present state, Laodiceans, Paul and Seneca, Paul and Thecla, I Corinthians, II Corinthians (Epistles of Clement), Barnabas, Ephesians (Epistle of Ignatius), Magnesians (Epistle of Ignatius), Trallians (Epistle of Ignatius), Romans (Epistle of Ignatius), Philadelphians (Epistle of Ignatius), Polycarp (Epistle of Ignatius), Philippians (Epistle of Polycarp), The Shepherd of Hermas I, II, and III. In an appendix will be found a list of other apocryphal Christian "Scriptures" and references to passages in the Church Fathers in which they are mentioned.

In the opening verses of Luke we have a prefatory note addressed to one, Theophilus, to whom also the book of the Acts of the Apostles is addressed, in which mention is made of a number of different accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus, even thus early in existence:—

"Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

The Gospel of John closes with these words:—

"And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." John 21:25.

This is however doubtless to be taken with John's idea of Jesus as the creative Logos of God, which was from the beginning with God, and was God.

Luke was concerned with the human life of Jesus. He consulted the best authorities. Several interesting inferences may be drawn from his statement, and they concern directly the literary background of the New Testament.

1. The "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" were probably not the ones of whom Luke speaks as the "many" who have "taken in hand to draw up a

narrative," doubtless meaning a written account, as distinguished from oral teachings.

2. The "eye-witnesses and ministers" to whom canonical Gospels are attributed were Matthew and John, who were Apostles. If Mark is the work, as some believe, of the John Mark mentioned in Acts 12:12, he may have been the "young man" of Mark 14:51 who witnessed the arrest of Jesus, and may have witnessed some other incidents.

3. Luke probably cannot refer to what we call the apocryphal gospels, for he speaks of these "narratives" as containing matters "fulfilled" (or surely believed) among us, and much that appears in the apocryphal gospels finds no place in Luke or in any other canonical book. Moreover, Luke was probably writing at a date earlier than that of any of the apocryphal gospels. "John" was, as Clement said, "last of all" and therefore later than Luke.

Luke would probably not have used the word "many" if he had been referring to Matthew and Mark, although there is nothing in his statement that would exclude them. Modern scholars believe that back of Luke and Matthew are Mark and a source designated as Q. The meaning probably is, as Dean Alford states it:—"that many persons, in charge of Churches, or otherwise induced, drew up, here and there, statements (*narratives*) of the *testimony of eye-witnesses* and *ministers of the word* . . . so far as they themselves had been able to collect them."—"It is probable that in almost every Church where an eye-witness preached, his testimony would be taken down and framed into some narrative, more or less complete, of the life and sayings of the Lord." [1] I John 1:1–3, is written by one

[1] Henry Alford, *New Testament for English Readers*, Note on Luke 1:1–4.

who speaks of himself as having both "seen and heard" what he writes.

We may distinguish two states earlier than any Gospel we possess, 1. the oral accounts of eye-witnesses and others, and, 2. written accounts more or less complete and accurate. The last stage of the purely historical writing is represented by the author of Luke, who utilizes all existing sources of information in the preparation of a narrative that shall be both orderly and accurate, concerning the things wherein Theophilus, a Christian, had been "instructed" or catechized.

Luke presents even to the casual reader some very interesting points of difference when compared with any other of the Gospels. Irenæus calls attention to this fact.[1] It is Luke alone who tells of the promise to Zacharias and his wife Elizabeth, a kinswoman of Mary's, of the birth of John the Baptist. Luke alone tells of the annunciation to Mary, of the visit of Mary to Elizabeth, of the circumcision of John, and the prophesy of Zacharias, of the Angels and Shepherds, of the birth in the manger, of the circumcision, the presentation in the Temple, of the visit to Jerusalem when Jesus was twelve years old, when he disputed with the doctors in the Temple, of his years at Nazareth during which he was subject to his parents, of his mother's keeping in her heart the incidents and sayings in the life of her son. Luke alone gives the Magnificat, the Prophecy of Zacharias, the Song of the Angels, and the Song of Simeon. Whence did he obtain these poems? There are reasons for thinking as modern critics do, owing to questions of style and continuity of the narrative, that Luke made use of some earlier Palestinian account, in Greek, or in Aramaic, in which

[1] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. I, p. 438.

was contained the material, found in Luke, but not in the other gospels. Many similarities between Matthew and Luke are attributed to a discourse-source used by both, and known as Q, or to the Matthæan Logia. These similarities occur in passages and sayings that are not found in the other Gospels. Almost the whole of Luke 10–18 is attributed to Q. There is no corresponding passage in Matthew, Mark, or John, but nearly all of it is contained in various passages in Matthew, which are obviously from the same source.

There are many other things peculiar to Luke. There alone do we find the story of the Good Samaritan, and the incident of the healing of Malchus's ear. The ministry of Jesus and his disciples is frequently referred to in Luke as one of healing. It is thought that this is because Luke was a physician.

Matthew and Luke, with their genealogies and their accounts of the birth and early years, are in contrast to Mark, which begins with the baptism of Jesus by John. The concluding verses of Mark 16:9–20, are evidently not part of the original book but an addition to supply a portion that had been lost, the verse 16:8, as we have it, ending with an apparently unfinished sentence. Jerome said that nearly all the Greek manuscripts of his time did not contain the passage 16:9–20.

The Gospel of John differs fundamentally from the other three but, like Mark, begins with the baptism by John, having opened with a passage about the eternal Logos, who had appeared in the flesh as Jesus Christ. A statement of Irenæus, which was very generally believed, because Luke was associated with Paul in his travels (see II Timothy 4:11, and Philemon v. 24) is, that "Luke, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel preached by that Apostle." This state-

ment does not agree with Luke's own statement, since Paul was not "from the beginning" an "eye-witness," and the sources of information open to Paul were equally open to Luke. His statement that he had "traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee [Theophilus] in order," is significant when taken in connection with the words of Papias, quoted below, that Mark did not write "in order."

The statement of Papias [1] is the starting point of all discussion concerning the authorship of Mark. Papias who lived about 130 A. D. claimed to have received information concerning the Gospels from John the Presbyter. He is quoted by Eusebius as saying:—

"This also the Presbyter said:—'Mark who was Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, all that he recollected of what Christ had said or done. For he was not a hearer of the Lord nor a follower of his; he followed Peter, as I have said, at a later date, and Peter adapted his instructions to practical needs, without any attempt to give the Lord's words systematically. So that Mark was not wrong in writing down some things in this way from memory, for his one concern was neither to omit nor to falsify anything he had heard.'" Such is Papias's account of Mark; this is what he says about Matthew:—"So then Matthew composed the Logia in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able." [2]

[1] For a discussion of the statements of Papias and other early writers see *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, James Moffatt, p. 185; *The Canon of the New Testament*, B. F. Westcott, p. 69; *New Testament for English Readers*, Henry Alford, Introduction to the several books. The statement of Papias is found in his works in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. I, pp. 154–155.

[2] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 39. The Matthæan Logia is probably what is commonly called the Q source. The original writing of Mark, to which Papias refers, is known as the Ur-Marcus, on which the canonical Gospel of Mark was based. See James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 185–206.

Words of early Christian Fathers have been quoted concerning the writing of each of the four Gospels. Papias speaks of Matthew and Mark, Irenæus of Luke, and Clement of John.

The Sayings of Jesus

The statement attributed to Papias, concerning certain Logia (λόγια) or "Sayings," composed by Matthew, assumes new interest in the light of recent discoveries, which suggest wonderful possibilities. At Oxyrhynchus in Egypt have been found by Dr. B. P. Grenfell and Dr. A. S. Hunt, two leaves of papyrus, one in 1897, the other in 1904, each of which contains "Sayings of Jesus," [1] some of which are to be found in our Gospels, while others are not so found. A fragment of an uncanonical Gospel also was found in 1908. Another fragment from Oxyrhynchus, preserved in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, contains perhaps the oldest known manuscript of any part of the New Testament. It is probably of the third century and contains verses from the first chapter of Matthew.

The "Sayings" found in 1897 are, as translated from the Greek in which they are written:—

[1] B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Sayings of Our Lord, 1897; New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus, 1904; Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel from Oxyrhynchus, 1908*, Oxford University Press, 1908.

The Oxyrhynchus papyri and others, which have been found in great numbers, and of which only a few concern directly the contents of the New Testament, are of importance in the study of the Greek of the New Testament and also of the Septuagint. They show that the idioms of so-called New Testament Greek are in many cases simply those of the colloquial Greek of the time. The Hebraisms were probably such as might be expected in Greek written by Jews, or in translations of Hebrew books. The light thrown on the Greek of the Septuagint and of the New Testament by such discoveries has led to the writing of new grammars such as, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, by J. H. Moulton, Oxford, 1906; and *Grammatik der Septuaginta*, by R. Helbing, Göttingen, 1907.

"[Jesus saith, Cast out first the beam that is in thine own eye], and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye." (See Matthew 7:5, and Luke 6:42.)

"Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

"Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart [and see not], poor, and know not their poverty."

"Jesus saith, Wherever there are two they are not without God, and if one is alone anywhere, I say I am with him. Raise the stone, there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there I am." (Matthew 18:20 is suggested.)

"Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him." (See Matthew 13:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:23–24; John 4:44.)

"Jesus saith, A city built on the top of a high hill and firmly established can neither fall nor be hid." (See Matthew 5:14, and 7:24–25.)

"[Jesus saith] Thou hearest with one ear, but the other thou hast closed."

The "Sayings" found in 1904 are written in the back of a list of measurements of a land surveyor. As translated from the Greek they are:—

"These are the [wonderful?] words which Jesus the living Lord spake [to his disciples?] and to Thomas, and he said to them: Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death." (See John 8:51–52.)

"Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished, he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest." (See Matthew 6:33, 7:7, 13:44, Luke 5:9.)

"Jesus saith, [Ye ask, who are those] that draw us [to the kingdom, if] the kingdom is in heaven?—fowls of the air and all the beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, [these are they which draw] you, and the kingdom of heaven is within you; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. [Strive therefore] to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the [Almighty] Father; [and (?)] ye shall know that ye are in [the city of God?] and ye are [the city?]." (See Job 12:7–8, Luke 17:21, 20:36.)

"Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning his place [in the kingdom. Ye shall know] that many that are first shall be last and the last first and [they shall have eternal life.]" (See Mark 10:31, Matthew 19:30, Luke 13:30, also John 3:16, 36, 5:24.)

"Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised." (See Matthew, 10:26, Mark 4:22, Luke 12:2.)

"His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we [pray (?)] . . . and what [commandment] shall we keep? Jesus saith, . . . do not . . . of truth . . . blessed is he." (See Matthew 6:16, Luke 11:1, for similar situations.)[1]

[1] The version of "The Sayings of Jesus" here given is that of Dr. G. A. Barton, and is taken by permission of the Sunday School Union, from his volume *Archæology and the Bible*, pp. 428–431.

CHAPTER IV

POETIC FORMS IN THE BIBLE

PARALLELISM of thought and of structure in successive lines had long been recognized as the special rhetorical characteristic of Hebrew poetry as distinguished from prose. It was not until 1741, however, that any systematic study of the subject seems to have been made. In that year Robert Lowth, then Professor of Poetry at Oxford, afterwards Bishop of London, began a series of lectures, in Latin, entitled *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ*. They were published in 1753, and, later, edited and published in an English version, which was reprinted a number of times. This was the most important contribution made, up to that time, to the study of the contents of the Bible as literature, in which, as in other literature, a knowledge of form, and a critical study of the kind of material used is essential to interpretation and appreciation.

Of Bishop Lowth's lectures his translator, Dr. G. Gregory, said in his Preface:—" . . . this work will be found an excellent compendium of all the best rules of taste, and of all the principles of composition, illustrated by the boldest and most exalted specimens of genius (if no higher title be allowed them) which antiquity has transmitted to us; and which have hitherto seldom fallen under the inspection of rational criticism." To Bishop Lowth critics turn even yet, for what he said, though familiar to us now, had not been said be-

fore. The most important passage is Lecture 19, in which are found the following statements:—"The poetical conformation of the sentences which has been so often alluded to as characteristic of the Hebrew poetry, consists chiefly in certain equality, resemblance, or parallelism, between the members of each period; so that in two lines (or members of the same period) things shall for the most part answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure. This parallelism has much variety and many gradations; it is sometimes more accurate and manifest, sometimes more vague and obscure; it may, however, on the whole be said to consist of three species." [1] These are explained and illustrated as Synonymous, Antithetic, and Synthetic, or Constructive. Similar parallelism is found in Babylonian and Egyptian poetry.

Examples are:—

1. *Synonymous.* The second line, or half line, repeats the idea of the first.

"Oh that my vexation were but weighed,
And all my calamity laid in the balances!" Job 6:2.

2. *Antithetic.* The second line is a contrast to the first.

"A soft answer turneth away wrath;
But a grievous word stirreth up anger." Proverbs 15:1.

3. *Synthetic.* The second line completes the thought of the first.

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink a brawler;
And whosoever erreth thereby is not wise." Proverbs 20:1.

[1] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, translated from the Latin by G. Gregory, London, 1847, p. 210.

Bishop Jebb calls the introverted quatrain, referred to below, a fourth kind of parallelism, and Dr. Briggs [1] adds a fifth kind, which he calls emblematic, and illustrates by such a verse as:—

"For lack of wood the fire goeth out;
And where there is no whisperer, contention ceaseth." Proverbs 26:20.

and a sixth kind, which he illustrates by "the stairlike movement, especially characteristic of the Pilgrim Psalms," Ps. 120–134, in which words of a line are taken up and repeated in the next line as in the following example:—

"He that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold he that keepeth Israel
Will neither slumber nor sleep.
Jehovah is thy keeper;
Jehovah is thy shade upon thy right hand." Psalm 121, 3–5.

No more striking examples of parallelism of structure can be found than the "Beatitudes":—

"Blessed are the poor in spirit,
For their's is the Kingdom of Heaven.
Blessed are they that mourn,
For they shall be comforted.
Blessed are the meek,
For they shall inherit the earth," etc. Matthew 5:3–10.

Luke gives not only the "Beatitudes," but also a companion series of "Denunciations" corresponding, almost line for line, with the "Beatitudes" (as given by Luke) and exhibiting the same structure:—

[1] C. A. Briggs, *The Study of Holy Scripture*, New York, 1899, p. 367.

"Woe unto you that are rich!
For ye have received your consolation.
Woe unto you, ye that are full now!
For ye shall hunger.
Woe unto you, ye that laugh now!
For ye shall mourn and weep.
Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you!
For in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets." Luke 6:24–26.

This volume is concerned primarily only with such characteristics of Hebrew poetry as appear in the English translation. The rhetorical structure of Hebrew poetry is very simple when once the principle of parallelism is recognized and the lines are printed separately. The unit is the line, or stichos, which consists, usually, of two quite distinct hemistichs, and is therefore frequently spoken of as a couplet. The combining of lines in various ways produced in Hebrew poetry, as in English, stanzas and strophes, with recurring similarity, but not necessarily identity, of arrangement, either of clauses or of thought. In fact, absolute regularity or uniformity in the repetition of a pattern is almost unknown in Oriental art. Perfect symmetry is distasteful as is shown by the variations introduced in the patterns of rugs and also in architecture. This is true also of Oriental music. Similarity of general structure or of thought, parallelism, is characteristic, but not identity of form, although the latter occurs.

Varieties of parallelism in Hebrew poetry are easily found, but the principle in all of them is the same. The commonest form is the couplet, but the single emphatic line occurs, usually final, as in Exodus 15:18, "Jehovah shall reign for ever and ever," or initial, as

in Psalm 18:1, "I love thee, O Jehovah, my strength." The triplet may consist of three synonymous lines, or of one line antithetic to the other two, or of a line, the thought of which is completed by the other two. The quatrain is a double couplet, with any of the various relations existing between the lines, either as pairs or singly. Arrangements of five or six lines sometimes occur. Illustrations may easily be multiplied, but the following will suffice to show the manner in which parallelism is used in the Bible, in the New Testament as well as in the Old.

1. Triplet:—

1. Jehovah bless thee, and keep thee:
2. "Jehovah make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:
3. Jehovah lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." Numbers 6:24–26.

1. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked
2. Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
3. Nor sitteth in the seat of scoffers." Psalm 1:1.

The second is interesting because there is in the lines a triple series of words, rising to a climax in meaning, walketh, standeth, sitteth; counsel, way, seat; wicked, sinners, scoffers. It illustrates also the picturesque qualities of Hebrew poetry. Each line is a picture.

2. Quatrain:—

1. "With the merciful thou wilt show thyself merciful;
2. With the perfect man thou wilt show thyself perfect;
3. With the pure thou wilt show thyself pure;
4. And with the perverse thou wilt show thyself froward." Psalm 18:25–26.

3. Introverted Quatrain:—

1. "My son if thy heart be wise,
2. My heart will be glad even mine:
2. Yea my heart will rejoice,
1. When thy lips speak right things." Proverbs 23:15–16.

Here the third line repeats the thought of the second, and the fourth that of the first.

4. Double Triplet:—

1. "Ask, and it shall be given you;
2. Seek, and ye shall find;
3. Knock, and it shall be opened unto you:
1. For every one that asketh receiveth;
2. And he that seeketh findeth;
3. And to him that knocketh it shall be opened." Matthew 7:7–8.

5. Introverted Triplet:—

1. "Remove far from me falsehood and lies;
2. Give me neither poverty nor riches;
3. Feed me with the food that is needful for me;
3. Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is Jehovah?
2. Or lest I be poor, and steal,
1. And use profanely the name of my God." Proverbs 30:8–9.

Here the first and last lines are connected in thought, as are the second and fifth, and the third and fourth.

6. The following illustrate what is sometimes called the "chain figure" or "sorites" in which successive lines are linked by a repetition of words.

"That which the palmer worm hath left
Hath the locust eaten;

And that which the locust hath left.
Hath the canker-worm eaten;
And that which the canker-worm hath left
Hath the caterpillar eaten." Joel 1:4.

"How then shall they call on him;
In whom they have not believed?
And how shall they believe in him, whom they have not heard?
And how shall they hear, without a preacher?
And how shall they preach, except they be sent?" Romans 10:14.

7. An arrangement of thought, in which a general idea stated at the beginning is repeated at the end, and is to be understood as applying to the intervening matter is called the "envelope figure" and is exemplified in the following passages:— Psalm 8:1 and 9, where the intervening verses illustrate and enforce the exclamation "O Jehovah, our Lord, How excellent is thy name in all the earth!"; Matthew 7:16–20, where the same is true of the statement "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The Lord's Prayer is usually printed, and also read, as though it were prose. It is, however, an example of parallelism of structure. Each of the three petitions in the opening division is commonly read as though it were independent. What we really have is an envelope figure, the opening line, "Our Father which art in Heaven," corresponding to "On Earth as it is in Heaven."

"Our father Which art in heaven,
Hallowed be Thy name.
Thy Kingdom come.
Thy will be done
On earth, as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread,
And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors,
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil,

For thine is the Kingdom,
And the power,
And the glory, forever. Amen."

The version here given is the King James (Matthew 6:9–13) and in this arrangement the Lord's Prayer appears as a triple triplet.[1] The Revised Versions and the Douay (Vulgate text) omit the ascription at the close of the Prayer, because of manuscript differences. That the Lord's Prayer was originally in Aramaic, in a metrical form, is the conclusion reached by Dr. C. C. Torrey in his paper on *A Possible Metrical Original of the Lord's Prayer*.[2] His conclusion is that the Greek version given in Luke 11:2–4, is a translation from an Aramaic prayer "truly metrical, forming regular verses of seven syllables each" and containing also rhyme.

Recognition of the principle of parallelism in structure and in thought is of prime importance in reading not only the poetical parts of the Bible, but also passages that are not poetry, for interpretation may be dependent upon the literary form in which ideas are cast. It makes clear in many passages the meaning,

[1] A considerable number of prayers are preserved in the Bible and many of the most ancient inscriptions discovered by the archæologists are prayers. Prayers will be found in the following chapters: Genesis 24, 32, Exodus 32, 33, Numbers 12, Deuteronomy 3, Judges 16, I Samuel 1, II Samuel 7, I Kings 8, II Kings, 19, 20; I Chronicles 4, II Chronicles 6, 14, 20, 30, Ezra 9, Nehemiah 1, 4, 9, Proverbs 29, Isaiah 37, 38, Jeremiah 14, Daniel 9, Jonah 2, Habakkuk 3, Matthew 6, 26, 27, Luke 11, 18, 22, 23, John 12, 17, Acts 1, 4. Prayers are preserved also in the Apocrypha. Many of the Psalms are prayers.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1913, pp. 312–317.

which would otherwise be obscure as, for example, in the Song of Lamech:—

"For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me." Genesis 4:23.

This is synonymous parallelism, and only one man was slain, not two, as might otherwise be the meaning.

An interesting variation of the couplet form is found in Deuteronomy 32:25. This is a good example also of the differences between the King James and the American Revised Versions. The King James Version is:—

"The sword without, and terror within, shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling *also* with the man of gray hairs."

The American Revised Version reads:—

"Without shall the sword bereave,
And in the chambers terror;
It shall destroy both young man and virgin,
The suckling with the man of gray hairs."

The scene represented is a besieged city, the able-bodied inhabitants of which are outside fighting, while the children and the aged are within the buildings in terror. By a condensing, which makes the verb "destroy," do double duty, the picture is confused in the mind of the reader until he recognizes the parallelism, the meaning being:—

"The sword without shall destroy the young man and the virgin: Terror within [shall destroy] the suckling also and the man of gray hairs."

Another interesting example of the value of a recognition of the structure in the interpretation of the passage is the familiar:—

1. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs,
3. Neither cast your pearls before the swine,
4. Lest haply they trample them under their feet,
2. And turn and rend you." Matthew 7:6.

Here, as in the other passage, are two distinct pictures, one, of dogs turning and rending the giver, the other of swine trampling under foot the gift. Two couplets have been combined by inserting one between the lines of the other.

To these illustrations of the simpler varieties of parallelism we now add several which show the structure of various combinations of lines in stanzas or strophes. The following arrangement of Psalms 42 and 43 as one poem, gives us three stanzas which are similar, but not identical, in structure, and which have also a variation in the refrain. The line:—

"While they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?"

is found in stanzas 1 and 2, and the line:—

"Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?"

occurs in stanzas 2 and 3.

Psalms 42 and 43

1

"As the hart panteth after the water brooks,
So panteth my soul after thee, O God.
My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God:

When shall I come and appear before God?
My tears have been my food day and night,
While they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?
These things I remember, and pour out my soul within me,
How I went with the throng, and led them to the house of God,
With the voice of joy and praise, a multitude keeping holy-day."

"Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And *why* art thou disquieted within me?
Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him
For the help of his countenance."

2

"O my God, my soul is cast down within me:
Therefore do I remember thee from the land of the Jordan,
And the Hermons, from the hill Mizar.
Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy waterfalls:
All thy waves and thy billows are gone over me.
Yet Jehovah will command his loving kindness in the day time;
And in the night his song shall be with me,
Even a prayer unto the God of my life.
I will say unto God my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
As with a sword in my bones, mine adversaries reproach me,
While they continually say unto me, Where is thy God?"

"Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted within me?
Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him,
Who is the help of my countenance and my God."

3

"Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation:
O deliver me from the deceitful and unjust man.

For thou art the God of my strength; why hast thou cast me
off?
Why go I mourning because of the oppression of the enemy?
Oh send out thy light and thy truth; let them lead me:
Let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles.
Then will I go unto the altar of God,
Unto God my exceeding joy;
And upon the harp will I praise thee, O God, my God."

"Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And why art thou disquieted within me?
Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him,
Who is the help of my countenance, and my God."

The New Testament, as we have it, is in Greek, but it is in parts, in the Gospels, probably based on, or actually translated from, Aramaic originals. We find therefore in the Greek the characteristic parallelisms of Hebrew. Notice the parallelism of strophes in:—

"Every one therefore that heareth these words of mine, and
doeth them,
Shall be likened unto a wise man,
Who built his house upon the rock:
And the rain descended, and the floods came,
And the winds blew, and beat upon that house;
And it fell not: for it was founded upon the rock."

"And every one that heareth these words of mine and doeth
them not,
Shall be likened unto a foolish man,
Who built his house upon the sand;
And the rain descended, and the floods came,
And the winds blew, and smote upon that house;
And it fell: and great was the fall thereof." Matthew
7:24–27.

The two strophes are antithetical. In the first picture the action of the elements upon the house is continuous, "beat upon," in the second, not continuous, "smote," because the house fell. This is indicated by the words used in the original.

Perhaps the most remarkable example in the New Testament of parallelism, and also of stanza formation, is found in Matthew 25:31–46, which, as arranged by Dr. Briggs,[1] is composed of five stanzas of six lines each, with a concluding couplet, apparently added by the Evangelist, as a summary or comment. The stanzas are:—1. Verses 31–33. 2. Verses 34–36. 3. Verses 37–40. 4. Verses 41–43. 5. Verses 44–45. Summary-verse 46.

The fifth stanza is, in the Gospel, condensed, but, if written out in full, would correspond line for line with the third, to which it is in antithesis, as are the lines of stanza four to those of stanza two. The first stanza is a general description of the scene of Judgment.

Matthew 25:31–46

"But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all
the angels with him,
Then shall he sit on the throne of his glory:
And before him shall be gathered all the nations:
And he shall separate them one from another,
As the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats;
And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats
on the left."

"Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand,
Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom
[Which was] prepared for you from the foundation of the
world:

[1] *The Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 405–6.

For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty and
ye gave me drink;
I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed
me;
I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came
unto me."

"Then shall the righteous answer him, saying,
Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or athirst and
gave thee drink?
And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked,
and clothed thee?
And when saw we thee sick [and visited thee?] or in prison
and came unto thee?
And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say
unto you,
Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, *even*
these least, ye did it unto me."

"Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand,
Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire
Which is prepared for the devil and his angels:
For I was hungry, and ye did not give me to eat; I was
thirsty, and ye gave me no drink;
I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye
clothed me not;
Sick [and ye visited me not] and in prison, and ye visited
me not."

"Then shall they also answer, saying,
Lord, when saw we thee hungry, [and did not give thee to
eat?] or athirst, [and did not give thee drink?]
Or [when saw we thee] a stranger, [and took thee not in?] or
naked, [and clothed thee not?]
Or [when saw we thee] sick, [and did not visit thee?] or in
prison, and did not minister unto thee?

Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you,
Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these least, ye did it
not unto me."

"And these shall go away into eternal punishment:
But the righteous into eternal life."

Professor W. G. Elmslie has called attention to the structure of the story of Creation as told in the first chapter of Genesis. He says:—"Looking at our analysis of their contents, we perceive that the six days fall into two parallel sets of three, whose members finely correspond. The first set presents us with three vast tenements or habitations, and the second set furnishes these with occupants. The first day gives us the sphere of light; the fourth day tenants it with sun, moon and stars. The second day presents the realm of air and water; the fifth day supplies the inhabitants, birds and fishes. The third day produces the habitable dry land, and the sixth day stocks it with the animals and man. The idea of this arrangement is, on the face of it, literary and logical. It is chosen for its comprehensive, all-inclusive completeness. To declare of every part and atom of Nature that it is the making of God, the author passes in procession the great elements or spheres which the human mind everywhere conceives as making up our world, and pronounces them one by one God's creation. Then he makes an inventory of their entire furniture and contents, and asserts that all these likewise are the work of God. For his purpose, which is to declare the universal creatorship and the uniform creaturehood of all Nature, the order and classification are unsurpassed and unsurpassable. With a masterly survey that includes everything, and omits nothing, he sweeps the

whole category of created existence, collects the scattered leaves into six congruous groups, enclosed each in a compact and uniform binding, and then on the back of the numbered and ordered volumes stamps the great title and declaration and they are one and all, in every jot, and title, and shred, and fragment, the works of their Almighty Author, and of none besides." [1] It will be observed that on the third and sixth days there are two creative acts each, the second of which marks a climax, that on the third day being the climax of inanimate creation, vegetation, that on the sixth day, the climax of creation, man.

In Hebrew poetry as it appears in the common translations of the Bible as well as in special renderings, we find that there are a number of interesting points of similarity to some forms of English poetry, especially to the parallelism and repetition in folk-song and ballad. Dr. George Adam Smith, quoting, in translation, from Professor Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan*, gives us the following examples of parallelism in Palestinian folk-songs as sung to-day: [2] —

"Thou, that sleepest the sleep of the lamb,
And the line on thy lips is sweet;
Were I not shy of my parents' face,
I would run and would kiss thee asleep."

"Thou that sleepest the sleep of the sheep,
And the line on thy shoulders is blue;
Were I not shy in the face of the guests,
I would run and would kiss thee asleep."

[1] W. G. Elmslie, "The First Chapter of Genesis," *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 52, pp. 823–825.

[2] For a discussion of this subject see G. A. Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins*, London, 1912, p. 13–20.

Dr. Smith also reminds us that our English "folk—songs and nursery rhymes are full of it":—

"Over the water and over the sea,
And over the water to Charlie."

"Old King Cole was a merry old soul,
And a merry old soul was he."

"I love sixpence, pretty little sixpence;
I love sixpence, better than my life."

Parallelism similar to that in Hebrew poetry is frequently found in English lyrics and ballads, as in the following:—

"Open the temple gates unto my love,
Open them wide that she may enter in,
And all the posts adorn as doth behove,
And all the pillars deck with garlands trim."
Spenser, *Epithalamion.*

"Water, water everywhere,
And all the boards did shrink;
Water, water everywhere,
Nor any drop to drink!"
Coleridge, *The Ancient Mariner.*

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep.
Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep."
Campbell, *Ye Mariners of England.*

"Why are we weighed upon with heaviness,
And utterly consumed with sharp distress,
While all things else have rest from weariness?

All things have rest: why should we toil alone?
We only toil, who are the first of things,
And make perpetual moan,
Still from one sorrow to another thrown."
Tennyson, *The Lotos-Eaters.*

This poetry resembles Hebrew because of its short simple sentences, the sense ending with the line. The last passage resembles certain Hebrew poems in which a word or phrase from one line is used in the next thus linking them together,[1] as in the Pilgrim Psalms, 120–134.

Differences of rhythm, so far as these affect length of line and rhetorical structure, appear in the English versions of Biblical poetry. The first four Lamentations, for example, have a special rhythm and differ in this respect from the fifth. The first four are alphabetic poems, and are in the elegiac meter, 3×2 better called the "pathetic," [2] the characteristic of which is the inequality of the two parts of the line, the second being shorter than the first, as for example, the following:—

"How doth the city sit solitary,
that was full of people!
She is become as a widow,
that was great among the nations!
She that was a princess among the provinces,
is become tributary." Lamentations 1:1.

The fifth Lamentation, although of twenty-two verses, is not alphabetic and is of different rhythm, the two parts of the line being of equal length, and rhetorical value as:—

[1] See above, p. 75, the "chain figure."
[2] The Hebrew word *kinah*, "lamentation," is used of this rhythm which may also express joy, or any other emotion.

"Remember, O Jehovah, what is come upon us:
Behold and see our reproach."

. . . . . .

"Our fathers sinned, and are not;
And we have borne their iniquities." Lamentations 5:1, 7.

The second part of the line in the pathetic meter is usually the completion of the thought of the first, and not a parallelism of thought. This difference is to be seen in the lines from Lamentations just quoted.

Varieties are thus seen to exist in Hebrew rhythms. The simplest form consists in balancing the two parts, or hemistichs, of a line by placing in each the same number of accents. The number of syllables to an accent may vary from one to even four or five, and there may be a secondary accent. This is true in general of English verse also, as Coleridge stated in the Preface to Christabel, a poem in which the number of syllables varies from four to twelve, with the same time length for the lines.[1]

The acrostic or alphabetic psalms are especially important in the study of Hebrew meter because, owing to the succession of letters of the alphabet, the beginning and end of each line can be fixed definitely.[2] Other verse divisions are not so easily determined, because the older poetry has come down to us written continuously as prose, and not divided into lines. Lines vary in length according to the number of accents, not the number of syllables. The commonest measure is the trimeter, but there are also tetrameters, pen-

[1] This subject is discussed, on the basis of music, by Sidney Lanier in *The Science of English Verse*, New York, 1890, pp. 195–198.

[2] This fact was noted and discussed by Bishop Lowth in the Preliminary Dissertation to his translation of Isaiah. *Isaiah, a New Translation*, London, 1848, 14th ed., pp. iii–viii.

tameters and hexameters, and combinations of these, sometimes in the same poem.

The twenty-third Psalm is an example of stanza structure, which is concealed by the manner in which it is usually printed, even in the Revised Versions. The stanzas are in different meters, being respectively, trimeter, tetrameter and pentameter. As translated and arranged by Dr. C. A. Briggs,[1] who has by hyphens joined the words of each accent group in Hebrew, the Psalm appears as follows:—

Psalm 23

1

"Yahweh is-my-shepherd: I-cannot-want.
In-pastures of-green-grass He-causeth-me-to-lie-down;
Unto-waters of-refreshment He-leadeth-me;
Me-myself He-restoreth . . .

2

"He-guideth-me in-paths of-righteousness for-his-name's-sake.
Also when-I-walk in-the-valley of-dense-darkness
I-fear-not evil, for-Thou-art with-me:
Thy-rod and-Thy-staff they comfort-me.

3

"He-prepareth before-me a-table in-the-presence-of my-adversaries;
Has-He-anointed with-oil my-head; my-cup is-abundance.
Surely-goodness and-mercy pursue-me all-the-days of-my-life,
And-I-shall-return (to-dwell)-in-the-house-of Yahweh for-length of-days."

[1] *The Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 384.

The effect of Hebrew rhythm may be obtained, but not, of course, the tone-color, by reading aloud these poems translated, as nearly as possible, in the meters of the originals.[1] The following ode is in the pathetic meter 3×2, found also in Lamentations 1–4:—

Isaiah 40:1–2

"Comfort ye, comfort ye my people,
Saith your God.
Speak to the heart of Jerusalem
And call to her.

"How that her service is fulfilled,
Her guilt made good;
That she has received from the hands of Yahwe
Full double for her sins."

An example of the 3×3 measure is the following ode:

Isaiah 40:6–8

"Hark! one saying, cry!
And I said, What shall I cry?—
All that is flesh is grass,
And all its beauty like the bloom of the field.

"The grass dries, the blossom fades,
If the breath of Yahwe do blow on it;
The grass dries, the blossom fades,
But our God's word shall stand forever."

The 2×2 measure, with 3×2 in the middle of the poem, is found in this ode:—

[1] The poems are used by the kind permission of my colleague Dr. James Alan Montgomery, and are taken from his unpublished version of Isaiah 40–66 in the original metres.

Isaiah 41:21–24

"Bring on your case!
Demands Yahwe.
Advance your proofs!
Demands Jacob's King.

"Let them approach and inform us
Of the things which shall happen;
The causes—what are they?—announce,
That we may give heed!

"Or what is to come declare,
That we know their result!
Announce what comes hereafter,
That we know ye are gods!

"Yea do good or do evil,
That we wonder and fear!
Behold ye are nil,
And your work is naught!"

The pathetic measure 3×2 in stanzas of five lines each is exemplified in the ode:—

Isaiah 62:4–9

"Thou no more wilt be called Forsaken,
Nor Lonely thy land;
But called, My Delight is in Her,
And Married thy land;
For in thee will Yahwe delight,
And thy land will be married.
For as a young man marries a virgin,
So thy builder will marry thee;
And with the joy of the groom o'er the bride,
Thy God will delight in thee.

"On thy battlements, O Jerusalem,
Have I stationed Watchers;
All day and all night long,
They are never silent.
Ye, Yahwe's Remembrancers
Take ye no rest,
And never give ye Him rest,
Until He establish,
And until he set
Jerusalem a praise in the earth!

"By his right hand has sworn Yahwe,
And by the arm of His might:
No more will I give thy grain
As food to thy foes,
Nor shall strangers drink thy new wine,
Whereon thou hast toiled;
But those who garner shall eat it,
And praise Yahwe,
And those who gather shall drink it
In My holy confines."

Of the sublime ode, familiar as the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, Dr. Montgomery says that "in its original form it had probably fifteen stanzas of a distich apiece. The meter is trimeter, 3×3, as in the first two Servant Songs, but in some lines the pathetic meter, 3×2, appears, at all events at the end of stanza 8. In addition to the ethical and theological interest of the ode comes the dramatic charm of its composition. It may be divided into three acts. In the first, 52:13–15, is sketched the exaltation of the Servant from his profound misery to be the wonder of peoples and kings, Yahwe being the speaker. In the second, 53:1–10 the Gentiles, by a fine bit of dramatic art, are made to tell the story in the form of self-reproachful confession;

they saw the whole sad drama enacting, but thought naught about it. Probably in 53:11 the Epilogue begins, in which Yahwe pronounces the triumph of Israel, given him as his reward for voluntary self-sacrifice." As translated by Dr. Montgomery the ode is:—

Isaiah 52:13–53:12

1

"Behold My Servant will prosper,
He will rise, be exalted on high.
As many were astounded before him,
So . . . .

2

"His figure was marred from man's shape,
And his form from human likeness,
Yet many peoples will tremble,
Before him Kings will be silenced.

3

"For what was ne'er told them they see,
And what they ne'er heard they discern.
Who can believe our news,
And who marked the arm of Yahwe?

4

"For before us he grew up like a sapling
Or a root from a drought-stricken land;
Without form, without beauty to look at,
No sight for us to delight in,

5

"Despised and outlawed of men,
Sorrow's man and acquainted with sickness;

Like one from whom men hide the face,
Despised, and we gave him no thought.

6

"Yet surely our sickness he bore,
And he our sorrows did carry;
While we—we accounted him stricken,
Plagued of God and afflicted.

7

"Yea he was pierced for our faults,
For our trespasses' sake was he bruised;
The chastisement for our peace was upon him,
And by his stripes is healing made ours.

8

"We all like sheep have offstrayed,
Each one his own way turning,
And Yahwe did inflict upon him
The sin of us all.

9

"Oppressed was he and afflicted,
Yet he never opened his mouth,
Like a sheep that is led to the slaughter,
As a ewe with her shearers is dumb.

10

"By force he was judged and taken;
And his way, who is there regards it?
Cut off from the land of the living,
Smitten to death for our sin.

11

"And they made his grave with the wicked,
Along with the transgressors his tomb;

Despite that he did no wrong,
And deceit was not found in his mouth.

12, 13, 14

" And it was Yahwe's will to bruise him . . . so that if he should make his life a guilt-offering, he would see a posterity, would prolong his days, and the will of Yahwe would prosper in his hand. From the travail of his soul he will see, he will be satisfied; by his knowledge My Servant will justify . . . many, and their sins he will bear.

" Therefore he will inherit among many,
And the spoil he will divide with the strong.

15

" Because he poured out his soul,
And among the sinners was counted,
Yet he bore the fault of many,
And for sinners makes intervention."

The emotional element of poetry causes modifications in the manner and forms of expression. Whether there was or was not rhyme, other than accidental, or occasional, in Hebrew poetry is a subject on which critics do not quite agree. A statement of Professor Torrey is very suggestive in this connection for there is in it the idea, which must be borne in mind in any treatment of Hebrew literature, that what we have in the Bible is only a small part of Hebrew writing, and it may be that rhyme was common enough in kinds of poetry not included in the Bible. "The Hebrews, in the very small fragment of their literature known to us make hardly any use of rhyme in poetry, seeming to regard it as too cheap a device to be employed in serious compositions. Now and then, espe-

cially in prayers and other formulæ suitable for popular recitation rhyme appears. Thus Judges 16:24 which Moore (com.) calls 'a hymn formed upon a single rhyme.' The repeated rhyme in the first verses of Psalm 14 was probably designed. The great poet of Isaiah 40–66, who had an unusually strong feeling for the sound of words occasionally drops into rhyme for a moment." [1] In the English versions this does not appear.

[1] C. C. Torrey, "A Possible Metrical Original of the Lord's Prayer," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1913, p. 315.

CHAPTER V

THE USES AND SOURCES OF IMAGERY AND ALLUSION IN THE BIBLE

In reading the Bible we must always bear in mind the fact that it has come to us from an Oriental people whose modes of life and manner of thought were determined largely by their race and environment and therefore differ in some respects from those of the Western world. If one has not already had this fact impressed on his mind by actual contact with Orientals, he will readily be brought to realize the immense importance of it in the study of the Bible by reading such a book as *The Syrian Christ*, the author of which says truly:— "You cannot study the life of a people successfully from the outside. You may by so doing succeed in discerning the few fundamental traits of character in their local colors, and in satisfying your curiosity with surface observations of the general modes of behavior; but the little things, the common things, those subtle connectives in the social vocabulary of a people, those agencies, which are born and not made, and which give a race its rich distinctiveness, are bound to elude your grasp. There is so much in the life of a people which a stranger to that people must receive by way of unconscious absorption." [1] "And it is those common things of Syrian life, so indissolubly interwoven with the spiritual truths of the Bible which cause the Western readers of holy writ to stumble and which rob those

[1] A. M. Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, Boston, 1916, p. 7.

truths for them of much of their richness. By sheer force of genius, the aggressive systematic Anglo-Saxon mind seeks to press into logical unity and creedal uniformity those undesigned, artless, and most natural manifestations of Oriental life, in order to 'understand the Scriptures.' " To the Oriental the Annunciation was "in perfect harmony with the prevailing modes of thought and the current speech of the land"—"I do not know how many times I heard it stated in my native land [Syria] and at our own fireside that heavenly messengers in the form of patron saints or angels came to pious, childless wives, in dreams and visions and cheered them with the promise of maternity." "To the Orientals 'the heavens declare the glory of God' and the stars reveal many wondrous things to men." "Deeps beyond deeps are revealed through that dry, soft and clear atmosphere of the 'land of promise,' yet the constellations seem as near to the beholder as parlor lamps." "So great is the host of the stars seen by the naked eye in that land that the people of Syria have always likened a great multitude to the stars of heaven or the sand of the sea." [1]

Ordinary ideas of the Oriental often seem to the Anglo-Saxon extraordinary, demanding analysis and explanation. The physical characteristics of Palestine and the customs of the inhabitants are the natural reasons for many of the modes of expression, and figures of speech employed in the Bible, which present interesting questions not only in regard to the source of the imagery, but also in regard to the constant use of it.

Much of the finest poetry of the Bible is contained in single lines or couplets, in which the poet by his use of imagery, or allusion, rises into the higher regions

[1] A. M. Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, pp. 11, 12, 31, 32.

of the imagination, and gives us a wonderfully beautiful and significant picture. The following verses illustrate the use of familiar sights of Palestine. They tell of the great out-of-doors world so characteristic of the Bible:—

"The trees of Jehovah are filled *with moisture*,
The cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted;
Where the birds make their nests:
As for the stork, the fir-trees are her house." Psalm 104: 16–17.

"As willows by the water-courses." Isaiah 44:4.

"A tree planted by the streams of water." Psalm 1:3.

"For he grew up before him as a tender plant, And as a root out of a dry ground." Isaiah 53:2.

"In the morning they are like grass which groweth up, In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; In the evening it is cut down and withereth." Psalm 90:5–6.

"Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades, Or loose the bands of Orion?" Job 38:31.

"He giveth snow like wool; He scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: Who can stand before his cold? He sendeth out his word and melteth them: He causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow." Psalm 147:16–18.

"The grass withereth, the flower fadeth; But the word of our God shall stand forever." Isaiah 40:8.

"We do all fade as a leaf." Isaiah 64:6.

"The fading flower of his glorious beauty." Isaiah 28:4.

"As a lily among thorns, So is my love among the daughters." Song of Solomon 2:2.

"He feedeth *his flock* among the lilies." Song of Solomon 6:3.

"And his heart trembled, and the heart of his people, As the trees of the forest tremble with the wind." Isaiah 7:2.

"I smote you with blasting and with mildew and with hail in all the work of your hands." Haggai, 2:17.

The ordinary figures of speech used in the Bible require no special discussion, but there is one figure which is used constantly with the result of increasing greatly the appeal to the imagination by presenting, sometimes in considerable detail, a dramatic picture instead of an abstract idea. The common name of this figure is "personification," which usually means that inanimate objects or abstract ideas are spoken of as though they were persons. The use of this figure is characteristic of the writings of Dickens, for example, and gives them much of their highly imaginative character. As employed in the Bible, the figure is better described by its Greek name "prosopopœia," for, in one of its most important uses, it consists, not in the endowing of inanimate objects, or abstractions, with personality, but in representing an actual person as present, or as speaking, when this will add force or vividness to what is said. The effect is usually very beautiful as in these examples:—

"Mercy and truth are met together;
"Righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Psalm 85:10.

"Then justice shall dwell in the wilderness;
"And righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field." Isaiah 32:16.

"The deep saith, It is not in me;
"And the sea saith, It is not with me." Job 28:14.

"Doth not wisdom cry,
"And understanding put forth her voice?" Proverbs 8:1.

These give us dramatic scenes. There are persons, and there is action. This sort of prosopopœia is common enough. There is, however, another sort, equally common, which, though not generally so thought of, is really a literary device to increase the force of what is said. It consists in putting a fictitious but appropriate speech into the mouth of a real person, as Thucydides did in writing his History of the Peloponnesian War. It is asserted by critics that the speeches of Paul, in Acts, are of this kind.[1] This second variety of prosopopœia is found in the Song of Deborah, Judges 5, which is a song of triumph, containing a series of pictures. We see Jehovah marching "out of the field of Edom," and the earth trembling, and the mountains quaking at his presence (vs. 4–5). We see also the street or road, with people on it, riding on white asses, sitting on rich carpets, or walking by the way (v. 10). We see the battle (vs. 19–23), the rout, and then the terrible scene in the tent (vs. 24–27). The description of the fall of Sisera is for power unexcelled in literature:—

"He asked for water, *and* she gave him milk;
She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
She put her hand to the tent-pin,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
And with the hammer she smote Sisera,
She smote through his head;
Yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.
At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay;
At her feet he bowed, he fell;
Where he bowed, there he fell down dead." Judges, 5:25–27.

[1] See Percy Gardner, *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, London, 1909, pp. 381–419. Essay XII, "The Speeches of St. Paul in Acts."

Of those closing lines Lowell wrote:— [1] "Are we not made to see as with our eyes the slow collapse of Sisera's body, as life and will forsake it, and then to hear his sudden fall at last in the dull thud of 'he fell down dead,' where every word sinks lower and lower, to stop short with the last?"

And now we come to the example of prosopopœia, by which the poet suddenly turns our thoughts to another scene in a distant place. The man lying there dead had a devoted mother, proud of her son, and at this very moment eagerly awaiting his return in triumph bringing his share of the spoils of battle. Using the device known well to-day, and employed with great effect by those who represent plays by means of moving-pictures, we are not merely reminded of the anxious mother, actually far away, but we are made to see her, with her attendants, peering out through the lattice, and not only see her, but hear the words in which she tells her wise ladies what spoils Sisera will probably bring home:—

"Through the window she looked forth, and cried,
The mother of Sisera cried through the lattice,
'Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?'
Her wise ladies answered her,
Yea she returned answer to herself,
'Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
To Sisera a spoil of dyed garments,
A spoil of dyed garments embroidered,
Of dyed garments embroidered on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?'" Judges, 5:28–30.

Here, as in the companion picture, we have the

[1] In his essay on *Milton's Areopagitica.*

description proceeding gradually to a climax. Does the poet wish us to understand that this is the record of an actual conversation? Not at all. The whole scene is described as it is to make vivid the picture, to make the reader an eye-witness of both scenes.

The same kind of prosopopœia is employed repeatedly in Psalms where the actual words of Jehovah purport to be given in passages in which the poet is simply expressing what he believed to be the thought of Jehovah. This putting of words into the form of a direct speech increases greatly both the picturesque and the dramatic features, in which the Hebrew poet delighted. The change of person, and consequently of speaker, is a feature of many Psalms that is too often practically ignored by readers. As an example we may take Psalm 91 in which the "I" of the second verse is one man speaking to another man, the "thee" of the third verse. Beginning with the fourteenth verse is a different "I," who is Jehovah, soliloquizing as he looks down from heaven on the two men and hears what is said. The poet cannot be supposed to be quoting literally an actual speech of Jehovah. He makes wonderfully impressive the attitude of Jehovah towards men by giving us a speech in the first person. A similar dramatic use of the first person occurs for example, in these lines:—

"Who is this that cometh from Edom,
With dyed garments from Bozrah?"

. . . . . .

"I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save." Isaiah 63:1.

Characteristic of Hebrew poetry is its out-of-doors setting. It is redolent of the fields, gives us pictures

in almost every line of something in nature upon which the eyes of the poet were accustomed to rest, or interprets the scenes and natural features of Palestine as the work of God who created all things. The general aspects of the starry heavens, the sun and the moon, the changes in the sky, suggest the power and also mystery of God. Light and darkness, day and night, the changes of the seasons, storms, clouds, rain, the sea, rivers, floods common among mountains, snow, ice, the dew, these all are used as illustrations of prosperity and adversity, knowledge and ignorance, happiness and calamity, and other conditions and events in the lives of men and of nations. Much of the use made of nature and of great events is not strictly figurative. It is rather allusion with an implied comparison or teaching.

The Story of Creation is ever in the mind of the Bible poet. Of this examples will be found in:—

"O Jehovah, our Lord,
How excellent is thy name in all the earth,
Who hast set thy glory upon the heavens! . . .
When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which thou hast ordained;
What is man that thou art mindful of him?" Psalm 8:1, 3, etc.

"The Heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament showeth his handiwork." [1] Psalm 19:1.

"By terrible things thou wilt answer us in righteousness,
O God of our salvation,
Thou that art the confidence of all the ends of the earth,

[1] The meaning of this Psalm is discussed by Ruskin in *Modern Painters*, Part VII, at the close of chapter IV, *The Angel of the Sea*. He says, "We saw long ago, how its [Nature's] various powers of appeal to the mind of men might be traced to some typical expression of Divine attributes."

And of them that are afar off upon the sea:
Who by his strength setteth fast the mountains,
Being girded about with might:
Who stilleth the roaring of the seas,
The roaring of their waves,
And the tumult of the peoples." Psalm 65:5–7.

When Jesus wished to impress upon his disciples the folly of worry about the morrow he said:—

"Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. . . . Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which today is, and tomorrow is cast into the oven, *shall he* not much more *clothe* you, O ye of little faith?" Matthew 6:26–30.

In all these passages God is mentioned as the Creator and controller of the universe.

Common scenes are used as figures, or analogies, to illustrate moral or spiritual truth. Jesus, telling his disciples that their duties and opportunities were at hand, said:—

"Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest." John 4:35.

For illustrations which should help to make clear the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, Paul turns to the fields and to the heavens:—

". . . and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind; but God giveth it a body even as it

pleased him, and to each seed a body of its own. . . . There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the *glory* of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory." I Corinthians 15:37–41.

Of the profitable life Paul says:—

"He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully." II Corinthians 9:6.

And of the inevitability of results from our lives, he says:—

"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." Galatians 6:7.

James writes:—

"For the sun ariseth with the scorching wind, and withereth the grass; and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his goings." James 1:11.

Peter, writing of men who devote their lives to sin, calls them:—

"springs without water, and mists driven by a storm." II Peter 2:17.

Jude speaks of men who "defile the flesh, and set at nought dominion" as:—

"hidden rocks . . . shepherds that without fear feed themselves; clouds without water, carried along by winds; autumn trees without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the

roots; wild waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars." Jude, 12, 13.

To-day, as in the times of Abraham, of David, and of Jesus, the shepherd and his flocks are characteristic of the land, and the singing and piping goes on just as it has gone on for thousands of years. "Can anything be more poetic than this life of the Syrian shepherd! It ought to be religious too. Far, far away, out on the lone mountain, with the everlasting hills around, and the heaven above, pure, blue, high and still,—there go and worship free from the impertinence of human rhetoric . . . in spirit and in truth worship—in solemn silence and soul-subduing solitude worship the most high God in his temple not made with hands." [1]

Scarcely any detail of the shepherd's life is omitted in the many allusions to it in the Bible. Psalm 23 and John 10:1–29, are true to the life of the shepherd and the sheep.

Isaiah, ch. 28, closes with these lines describing the work of the farmer:—

"Give ye ear and hear my voice;
Hearken and hear my speech.
Doth he that ploweth to sow plow continually?
Doth he *continually* open and harrow his ground?
When he hath levelled the face thereof,
Doth he not cast abroad the fitches, and scatter the cummin,
And put in the wheat in rows, and the barley in the appointed place,
And the spelt in the border thereof?
For his God doth instruct him aright,
And doth teach him,
For the fitches are not threshed with a sharp *threshing* instrument,

[1] W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, London, 1889, p. 204.

Neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin;
But the fitches are beaten out with a staff,
And the cummin with a rod.
Bread *grain* is ground,
For he will not be always threshing it:
And though the wheel of his cart and his horses scatter it,
He doth not grind it."

The parable of the sower, in Matthew, 13, with its interpretation, the preparation of the heart, as the plowing of fallow land; Hosea 10:12, the preacher, as the laborer in the field; I Corinthians 3:9, death, as the reaper; Psalm 90:6, the wicked as the stubble; Isaiah 47:14, trials, as the sifting of the wheat; these and many other references are familiar examples of figurative uses of farming.

Threshing and grinding are common figures, as is also "the chaff which the wind driveth away," Psalm 2:4. The winepress too is referred to, and in one of the most exalted passages, already referred to in another connection, in Isaiah, we read:—

"Who is this that cometh from Edom,
With dyed garments from Bozrah?
This that is glorious in his apparel,
Marching in the greatness of his strength?
'I that speak in righteousness mighty to save,'
Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel,
And thy garments like him that treadeth in the winevat?
'I have trodden the winepress alone;
And of the peoples there was no man with me:
Yea, I trod them in mine anger,
And trampled them in my wrath;
And their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments,
And I have stained all my raiment,
For the day of vengeance was in my heart,

And the year of my redeemed is come.
And I looked, and there was none to help;
And I wondered that there was none to uphold;
Therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me;
And my wrath, it upheld me,
And I trod down the peoples in mine anger,
And made them drunk in my wrath,
And I poured out their lifeblood on the earth.'" Isaiah 63:1–6.

The vineyard and vine-growers are used often as figures, for example, in Isaiah ch. 5, the Song of Solomon, John ch. 15. Other occupations of Palestine are likewise similarly used, as that of the builder, I Corinthians 3:10; the fuller, Malachi 3:2, Mark 9:3; the refiner of silver, Isaiah 48:10, Malachi 3:3; the merchant, Isaiah 47:15, Matthew 13:45. From the life of the shepherd, and that of the farmer and of the vine-grower comes much of the material and also the inspiration of the Hebrew poetry. This was pointed out long ago by Bishop Lowth to whom all subsequent writers on the subject are indebted. He said:—"the sacred poets, in illustrating the same subject, make a much more constant use of the same imagery than other poets are accustomed to; and this practice has a surprising effect in preserving perspicuity." [1] The point of this is not that the Hebrew poet makes use of the daily occupations of his neighbors for purposes of simile or metaphor, but that a definite meaning has come to be associated with the incidents of those daily occupations, so that the relation of the shepherd to his flock, the farmer to his land and crops, and the vine-grower to his vineyard and its products, are constantly thought of in connection with the idea of the relation of Israel's God to his chosen

[1] *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, p. 71.

people. This is, in general, true of almost all natural objects and scenes. God is seen in nature everywhere as its Creator:—

"Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand,
And meted out heaven with the span,
And comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure,
And weighed the mountains in scales,
And the hills in a balance?"

"Lift up your eyes on high
And see who hath created these,
That bringeth out their host by number;
He calleth them all by name;
By the greatness of his might, and for that he is strong in power,
Not one is lacking." Isaiah 40:12, 26.

The processes of nature both manifest and illustrate his relation to peoples and to individuals. Nature never became to the Hebrew a mere matter of formal illustration, as it became to the English poets of the seventeenth century, nor was there ever anything Wordsworthian in Hebrew poetry. God was above all, and controlled and regulated both nature and man. He did not reveal himself to man through nature in any Wordsworthian sense because, to the Hebrew, God revealed himself directly. He talked personally with Abraham, with Moses, with Joshua, with Samuel and with others. No intermediation of nature was thought of, although the heavens did "declare the glory of God." To the prophets he spoke directly, and they, as his ambassadors, spoke to the people to whom they were sent. There was no "pathetic fallacy" about the Hebrew poet's idea of nature. God clothed the

grass, and arrayed more gloriously than Solomon the lilies of the field, Matthew 6:28, but how God did this was a mystery to the Hebrew. He did not profess to understand it. Attempts to explain the processes of nature, and the conclusion that they are beyond human understanding, are set forth in such remarkable utterances as we find in Psalms 104 and 139, and particularly in the closing chapters, 38–42, of Job. Job's words represent the Hebrew attitude towards nature:—

"I know that thou canst do all things
And that no purpose of thine can be restrained." Job 42:2.

The larger natural features of Palestine play an important part in Hebrew poetry. "Among the mountains of Palestine, the most remarkable, and consequently the most celebrated in the sacred poetry, are Mount Lebanon and Mount Carmel; the one, remarkable as well for its height as for its age, magnitude, and the abundance of the cedars which adorned its summit, exhibiting a striking and substantial appearance of strength and majesty; and the other, rich and fruitful, abounding with vines, olives and delicious fruits, in a most flourishing state both by nature and cultivation, and displaying a delightful appearance of fertility, beauty and grace. The different form and aspect of these two mountains is most accurately defined by Solomon, when he compares the manly dignity with Lebanon and the beauty and delicacy of the female with Carmel." [1]

"His aspect is like Lebanon, excellent as the cedars." The Song of Solomon 5:15.

[1] Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, p. 75.

"Thy head upon thee is like Carmel,
And the hair of thy head like purple:
The King is held captive in the tresses." The Song of Solomon, 7:5.

It was from the top of Carmel overlooking the sea that Elijah's servant saw the "cloud out of the sea, as small as a man's hand!" I Kings 18:44. Mt. Hermon, with its double peak (the reason probably for its name appearing in Hebrew sometimes plural or dual) lofty, snow clad, covered often by clouds and mist gives us "the Dew of Hermon, that cometh down upon the mountains of Zion." Psalm 133:3. Numerous are the mountains that are mentioned in the Bible, and important are the events recorded in connection with them. Calvary, Ebal, Ephraim, Gilboa, Gilead, Gerizim, Hor, Horeb, Moriah, Nebo, Olives, Paran, Pisgah, Seir, Sinai, Tabor, Zion,—What ideas and associations do many of these suggest!

To the list of mountains we may add a similar list of valleys, Achor, Ajalon, Baca, Berachah, Elah, Eshcol, Gibeon, Hinnom, Jehoshaphat, Megiddo, Rephaim, Shaveh, Shittim, Siddim, Sorek, Succoth, but, it will be noted at once that the mountain tops, and not the valleys, were the scenes of the greatest events.

The peaceful, well-watered valleys are often in the poet's mind, as are also the many wildernesses or wild sparsely-settled places used as pasture. The idea that a leveling of the land was a thing greatly to be desired seems to be contained in the words of Isaiah 40:3–4, quoted in Luke 3:4–5:—

"The voice of one that crieth,
Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Jehovah,
Make level in the desert a highway for our God.

Every valley shall be exalted,
And every mountain and hill shall be made low;
And the uneven shall be made level,
And the rough places a plain:
And the glory of Jehovah shall be revealed,
And all flesh shall see it together;
For the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it."

The numerous caves which exist in the mountains of Palestine played an important part in the lives of many individuals, such as Lot, who with his two daughters dwelt, for safety, in a cave, Genesis 19:30; Abraham, who purchased the cave of Machpelah as a tomb, Genesis 23:9; the five Kings, who hid in a cave at Makkedah, Joshua, 10:16; the people who hid in caves for protection from the Philistines, I Samuel 13:6; David, who hid in the cave of Adullam, I Samuel 22:1; II Samuel 23:13; Saul, whose life was spared by David, in the cave at En-gedi, I Samuel 24:10; the prophets, whom Obadiah hid by fifties in a cave, I Kings 18:4; Lazarus, whose tomb was a cave, John 11:38; the people who were driven to caves by persecution, Hebrews 11:38, see also Isaiah 2:19.

These caves are frequently in the minds of the poets, especially in reference to refuge from danger. There is of course, at times, the idea of the ancient cities of refuge, Numbers 35:11, but those were only for the shedders of blood, while the idea of a general refuge is much broader as in Psalms 31:3, 71:3, 94:22.

With the idea of the desert, through which the people had traveled in the Exodus, the edges of which extended to the eastern borders of Palestine, and of the desert tracts in Palestine itself, is associated the beautiful figure of Psalm 91:1.

"He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty."

We have such figures as these taken directly from the nature of Palestine:—

"A man shall be as a hiding place from the wind,
And a covert from the tempest,
As streams of water in a dry place,
As the shade of a great rock in a weary land." Isaiah 32:2.

References to the sea are not uncommon, although the sea was not, like the mountains and valleys, always before the eyes of the poet. The fact that John conceives of the new earth as a place in which there will be "no more sea," Revelation 21:1, may have reference to what was a fact, that the sea was not regarded with pleasure in Bible times. But this attitude towards the sea is not peculiar to the Jew of old. The poetry of the sea, beyond allusions, is most of it modern, as is also, doubtless for the same reason, the poetry of the mountains. Certain general aspects and suggestions of both mountains and sea are recognized in ancient literature, the mountains suggest permanency, and the sea instability and change, but our modern ideas of the universe, and our improved means of travel and of protecting ourselves against the assaults of the elements, have had perhaps much to do with modifying our thoughts concerning them. Biblical references to the sea mention only its power, its restlessness, its changefulness, its treachery. Job says:—

"Am I a sea, or a sea-monster,
That thou settest a watch over me?" Job 7:12.

The Psalmist writes:—

"Yonder is the sea, great and wide,
Wherein are things creeping innumerable,
Both small and great beasts.
There go the ships;
There is leviathan, whom thou hast formed to play therein."
Psalm 104:25–26.

"They that go down to the sea in ships,
That do business in great waters;
These see the wonders of Jehovah,
And his wonders in the deep.
For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind,
Which lifteth up the waves thereof.
They mount up to the heavens,
They go down again to the depths:
Their soul melteth away because of trouble.
They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man,
And are at their wit's end.
Then they cry unto Jehovah in their trouble,
And he bringeth them out of their distresses.
He maketh the storm a calm,
So that the waves thereof are still.
Then they are glad because they are quiet;
So he bringeth them unto their desired haven." Psalm 107:23–30.

What a volume of meaning is conveyed by the lines:—

"He maketh the storm a calm,
So that the waves thereof are still.
Then they are glad because they are quiet." Psalm 107:29,30.

On the sea of Galilee the disciples were in danger in their small boat, Matthew 8:24, and Paul had a very

rough experience with the Mediterranean, ending with shipwreck. Acts 27:6–44.

Isaiah, more than any other poet in the Bible, speaks of the sea, as one who has seen it, in calm and in storm, and has noted its changing aspects. He refers not only to the "pleasant imagery" of "the ships of Tarshish," Isaiah 2:16, but also to the boisterous sea beating against the cliffs:—

"And they shall roar against them in that day,
Like the roaring of the sea:
And if one look unto the land,
Behold, darkness and distress;
And the light is darkened in the clouds thereof." Isaiah 5:30.

And of the sea washing in on the beach:—

"But the wicked are like the troubled sea;
For it cannot rest,
And its waters cast up mire and dirt." Isaiah 57:20.

A splendid passage in which, in Hebrew, by the use of long vowels and doubled consonants Isaiah has expressed "the slow lift and roll of the billows—their distant booming—their crash and hissing sweep along the Syrian coast," [1] much of which will be felt on reading the English translation aloud, is the following:—

"Ah, the uproar of many peoples,
That roar like the roaring of the seas;
And the rushing of nations,
That rush like the rushing of mighty waters!
The nations shall rush like the rushing of many waters:
But he shall rebuke them,

[1] G. A. Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel*, pp. 6, 7.

And they shall flee far off,
And shall be chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind,
And like the whirling dust before the storm." Isaiah 17:12–13.

Isaiah writes also:—

"Oh that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments!
Then had thy peace been as a river,
And thy righteousness as the waves of the sea." Isaiah 48:18.

He gives a wonderful picture of the Nile and of those who depended upon it for a living, the drying up of the Nile being a terrible calamity.

"And the waters shall fail from the sea,
And the river shall be wasted and become dry.
. . . . . .
And the fishers shall lament,
And all they that cast angle into the Nile shall mourn,
And they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish." Isaiah 19:5–8.

Biblical poets give us pictures, not only of the sea, the mountains and the fruitful fields, but also of the life of a great city, with its swiftly moving panorama, embracing the good and the bad, the rich and the poor. Isaiah speaks of the harlots, the haughty daughters of Zion that "walk with outstretched necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet," Isaiah 3:16. He enumerates their articles of adornment, "their anklets, and the cauls and the crescents; the pendants and the bracelets, and the mufflers; the headtires, and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the perfume-boxes, and the amulets; the rings and the nose-jewels; the festival robes, and

the mantles, and the shawls, and the satchels; the hand-mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans and the veils," Isaiah 3:18–23. A somewhat similar description of adornments is given in Ezekiel 16:10–16, in the denunciation of Jerusalem, which played the harlot, and John in his vision, Revelation 17:4–5, beheld the harlot arrayed in all her fine clothing and jewels. These descriptions are all from life as seen in the cities.

Isaiah describes the drunkards that "reel with wine and stagger with strong drink;"

"The priest and the prophet reel with strong drink,
They are swallowed up of wine,
They stagger with strong drink;
They err in vision, they stumble in judgment." Isaiah 28:7.

The drunkard is a common illustration, and the results of drunkenness, such as brawling and quarreling, Proverbs 20:1, Ephesians, 5:18, are held up as warnings.

The caravans, the coming and going of which were so important in Palestine's prosperity, were in the author's mind when he wrote of the coming glory of Zion:—

"The multitude of camels shall cover thee,
The dromedaries of Midian and Ephah;
All they from Sheba shall come;
They shall bring gold and frankincense,
And shall proclaim the praises of Jehovah." Isaiah 60:6.

In Proverbs 8:3, we have the vivid picture of Wisdom standing "Beside the gate, at the entry of the city" and calling to the people as they go in and out. Job gives us a scene in the streets of a city, with men of all kinds passing by:—

"When I went forth to the gate unto the city,
When I prepared my seat in the street,
The young men saw me and hid themselves,
And the aged rose up and stood;
The princes refrained from talking,
And laid their hand on their mouth;
The voice of the nobles was hushed,
And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth.
For when the ear heard *me*, then it blessed me;
And when the eye saw *me*, it gave witness unto me."
Job 29:7–11.

"Salutations in the marketplaces" were greatly valued by men who liked to appear important. Luke 20:46. Isaiah speaks of the merchants of Tyre who are "princes," and traffickers, who "are the honorable of the earth." Isaiah 23:8. Another figure from the street scenes is found in Psalm 59:6, 14, where the poet says of his enemies:—

"They return at evening, they howl like a dog,
And go round about the city."

Sometimes the figures used, and pictures suggested, are those of household life, vivid and forceful as:—

"I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down." II Kings 21:13.

or:—

"Moab is my washpot; upon Edom will I cast my shoe." Psalm 60:8.

or:—

"Fervent lips and a wicked heart
"Are *like* an earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross."
Proverbs 26:23.

The poet has in mind the life of a family:—

"Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine,
In the innermost parts of thy house;
Thy children like olive plants,
Round about thy table." Psalm 128:3.

Or parental love:—

"As one whom his mother comforteth,
So will I comfort you;
And ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem." Isaiah 66:13.

Like as a father pitieth his children,
So Jehovah pitieth them that fear him. Psalm 103:13.

Sometimes it is the bearing of burdens by means of a yoke:—

"Thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck." Genesis 27:40.
"My yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Matthew 11:30.

Again it is the driving of cattle:—

"The words of the wise are as goads." Ecclesiastes 12:11.

The figures are often taken from familiar works of man:—

"Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, A precious corner-*stone* of sure foundation." Isaiah 28:16.

"His heart is as firm as a stone;
Yea, firm as the nether mill-stone." Job 41:24.

We see and hear the beekeeper hissing to call his bees:—

"And will hiss for them [the Nations] from the end of the earth;
And behold they shall come with speed swiftly." Isaiah 5:26.

"And it shall come to pass in that day,
That Jehovah will hiss for the fly,
That is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt,
And for the bee that is in the land of Assyria.
And they shall come, and shall rest all of them
In the desolate valleys, and in the clefts of the rocks,
And upon all thorn-hedges, and upon all pastures." Isaiah 7:18.

Other sources of figurative language were Chaos and Creation:—

"I beheld the earth,
And, lo it was waste and void;
And the heavens, and they had no light.
I beheld the mountains and lo they trembled,
And all the hills moved to and fro." Jeremiah 4:23.

The Deluge is probably in the poet's mind when he writes:—

"The windows on high are opened
And the foundations of the earth tremble." Isaiah 24:18.

The Exodus and its many incidents are referred to in a number of passages:—

"Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt;
Thou didst drive out the nations, and plantedst it." Psalm 80:8.

"And Jehovah will utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea;
And with his scorching wind will he wave his hand over the River,
And he will smite it into seven streams,
And cause men to march over dryshod." Isaiah 11:15.

"Thus saith Jehovah
Who maketh a way in the sea,
And a path in the mighty waters;
Who bringeth forth the chariot and horse,
The army and the mighty man:
They lie down together, they shall not rise;
They are extinct; they are quenched as a wick." Isaiah 43:16–17.

"Is it not thou that driedst up the sea,
The waters of the great deep;
That madest the depths of the sea a way
For the redeemed to pass over?" Isaiah 51:10.

"Where is Jehovah that brought us up
Out of the land of Egypt,
That led us through the wilderness,
Through a land of deserts and of pits,
Through a land of drought and of the shadow of death,
Through a land that none passed through,
And where no man dwelt?" Jeremiah 2:6.

The appearance of God is described in language that takes us back to the thunderings and lightnings and smoking mountain of Exodus, ch. 20, where the giving of the Law is described. Such passages are Psalm 18: 7–15, and Habakkuk 3. Jehovah speaks in the storm, Job 38:1, and Psalm 29, a poem of nature is the description of a thunder-storm which is called "the voice of Jehovah."

The symbolic vestments of the priests and the ser-

vices of the Tabernacle and the Temple are likewise sources of figurative expression. Jehovah "clothed with majesty," "clothed with strength," "girded with strength" all suggest the dress of the priests as described in Exodus, ch. 29. A striking passage in which garments and armor are used figuratively is this from Isaiah:—

"And he put on righteousness as a breastplate,
And a helmet of salvation upon his head;
And he put on garments of vengeance for clothing;
And was clad with zeal as a mantle." Isaiah 59:17.

Later Paul used figuratively the armor of the Roman soldier:—

"Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; . . . taking up the shield of faith . . . the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Ephesians 6:14–17.

The apocalyptic books abound in imagery, much of which was not so much metaphor or analogy as pure symbolism, such as the conception of the new Jerusalem, in Revelation, a city "foursquare," "the length, and the breadth and the height thereof" being "equal." The Oriental manner of expressing ideas picturesquely and concretely, instead of abstractly, leads to the notable use of imagery in the Bible.

CHAPTER VI

BIBLICAL HISTORY

A LARGE part of the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments is historical. We have, from Genesis to Esther, inclusive, seventeen books as we count them to-day, all of which contain accounts of "what happened," and the words and actions of the persons to whom, or through whom, it happened. We have history recorded also in some of the prophets, notably in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Amos, Jonah, Haggai, that is to say, accounts of men and what they did. In the Old Testament, we have two sets of historical books, one of which, the older, comprises Genesis to II Kings, inclusive, except Ruth, which is in Hebrew found in the miscellaneous collection of the Writings; the other, a later series, consists of I and II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. All of these books as we have them probably contain material from still earlier works. Much of the Old Testament history is evidently derived from more ancient stories about important characters, who are thus made to live again for us.[1]

In the New Testament we have history in the Gospels and Acts, but history of a different kind, the history, not of a people, but of an individual and of the promulgation of his teachings by his followers. The historian of to-day is concerned more with movements and ideas than with men. He usually treats of the

[1] For an account of the relation of the existing books to the earlier stories see S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.*

latter only as they were concerned in the political or social movements of their times. With the compilers or authors of the histories contained in the Bible, we find that an ethical or religious purpose lay behind what was recorded, and their conscious endeavor was to give such accounts of the happenings of the past as would show, by actual instances, God's manner of dealing with individuals and peoples. More than one half of the historical books, I Samuel to Nehemiah, inclusive, is devoted to the stories of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon. The period from Joshua to Samuel, about four centuries, is represented by the short book of Judges which consists chiefly of stories of heroes. According as men and nations obeyed, or disobeyed, the commandments of God, and walked in, or departed from, his ways, so is the record of their prosperity and happiness, or adversity and misery, found preserved for the instruction and guidance of future generations. The line of David from which was to come the Messiah was especially kept in mind by the Bible historians, and history is presented almost entirely through biographies. Back of all the history is Jehovah, and such books as have come to us record, in every instance, except possibly Esther, the belief that it was he that controlled the lives of men and nations. How clearly the religious and moral teaching of history is set forth may be seen in the following passages, each taken from the close of a book, and in most cases from the last chapter. They include every Old Testament history, except the Pentateuch and Esther, the latter being noteworthy for making no mention of Jehovah:—

"And Israel served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, and had known

all the work of Jehovah, that he had wrought for Israel." Joshua 24:31.

"And Jehovah smote Benjamin before Israel; and the children of Israel destroyed of Benjamin that day twenty and five thousand and a hundred men: all these drew the sword."

"In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Judges 20:35; 21:25.

"And when David came to Ziklag, he sent of the spoil unto the elders of Judah, even to his friends, saying, Behold, a present for you of the spoil of the enemies of Jehovah." I Samuel 30:26.

"And David built there an altar unto Jehovah, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So Jehovah was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel." II Samuel 24:25.

"And he [Ahaziah] served Baal, and worshipped him, and provoked to anger Jehovah, the God of Israel, according to all that his father [Ahab] had done." I Kings 22:53.

"And he [Zedekiah] did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that Jehoiakim had done. For through the anger of Jehovah did it come to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence." II Kings 24:19–20.

"Then Solomon sat on the throne of Jehovah as king instead of David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him. . . . And Jehovah magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel." I Chronicles 29:23, 25.

"Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of Jehovah by the mouth of Jeremiah might be accomplished, Jehovah stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, so that he made a proclamation. . . . Whosoever there is among you of all his people, Jehovah his God be with him, and let him go up." II Chronicles 36:22, 23.

"O Jehovah, the God of Israel, thou art righteous; for we are left a remnant that is escaped as it is this day: behold we are before thee in our guiltiness; for none can stand before thee because of this." Ezra 9:15.

"Remember them, O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites." "Remember me, O my God, for good." Nehemiah 13:29, 31.

Calamities, such as the loss of the Ark to the Philistines, I Samuel ch. 4, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, II Chronicles ch. 36, are attributed to the loss of the favor of Jehovah, in one case, because of the sin on the part of Eli and his sons, who made "Jehovah's people to transgress," and, in the other, because of the sins of Zedekiah and "all the chiefs of the priests and the people" who "trespassed very greatly after the abominations of the nations." "Therefore he [Jehovah] brought upon them the king of the Chaldeans." The fall of Samaria, and the captivity of Israel are attributed to the wickedness of Hoshea, king of Israel. II Kings 17:2–3. Triumphs like those of Gideon, Judges 7, over the Midianites, David over Goliath, I Samuel 17, or Asa over the Ethiopians II Chronicles 14, are attributed directly to the favor of Jehovah. The oft-repeated statements concerning kings that they "did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah," or that they "did that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," or that the people did "that which was right," or "that which was evil," indicate clearly the thoughts in the minds of the ancient Hebrew historiographers.

The kings, who preserved or restored the religious ceremonials of the Israelites as prescribed in the law of Moses, are mentioned at some length, as are also

those who were notably unfaithful to the worship of Jehovah, and who succumbed to the idolatry, which flourished among surrounding peoples. The historian wrote his accounts with this idea constantly in his mind, that the favor of Jehovah depended upon obedience to his commands as set forth in the Law.

Just what the general contents and purposes of the different books and groups of books were, we will now consider briefly. Let us begin by examining the books of the Old Testatment. To the Jew the most authoritative, the fundamental books, were those which constitute what he called the Torah, or the Law, but which readers of the English Bible commonly call the Pentateuch, a name given by the Greek translators to indicate the fact that the Torah consisted of five books, or parts. When Joshua, which relates the early history of Israel in Canaan, is grouped with the first five books, we have what is called the Hexateuch. This was not done by the Jews, who invariably regarded the Book of the Law as a unit, and never changed its contents by including any other book. This is true also of the other two collections, the Prophets, and the Sacred Writings, which complete the Jewish Scriptures, and, with the Law, compose our Old Testament. No book of one collection ever appeared in another. The order of the books in the Law did not vary, nor did the order of the Former Prophets, Joshua–Kings, in the second collection, being chronological. The Latter Prophets, Isaiah–Malachi, were not always in the same order in Hebrew, Jeremiah sometimes following Kings immediately. The third collection varied in the order of the books, as no chronological principle was followed, though Psalms usually came first.

THE PENTATEUCH

The Book of the Law, or the Pentateuch, contains not only a brief summary of the history of the human race prior to the call of Abraham, and an account of the beginnings and history of the chosen people from the call of Abraham to the death of Moses, but also statements of the laws and regulations by which the nation was to be governed and the worship of Jehovah conducted. The forty years in the wilderness were spent not in aimless wandering, but, beginning with two years in the neighborhood of Mount Sinai, on the top of which, we are told, Jehovah gave to Moses the Law, and the directions for the construction of the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle and its furnishing, also the ceremonials, offerings and sacrifices, these years were occupied with the organizing of a vast multitude of people, governed only in the patriarchal system of families, each with its head, into a nation with its proper officials and laws, all government deriving authority directly from Jehovah, visibly present in the light of the Shekinah over the Ark in the Holy of Holies of the Tabernacle, into which the High Priest at specified times was permitted to go, Leviticus, ch. 16. Judges and officers were appointed to "judge the people with righteous judgment," Deuteronomy, 16:18, but the High Priest was the head of the religious organization. We are told in Joshua 5:4–6, that "all the people that came out of Egypt, that were males, even all the men of war, died in the wilderness by the way . . . because they hearkened not unto the voice of Jehovah." In Numbers 32:11, 12, we are told that this applied only to men "twenty years old and upward," save Caleb and Joshua.

Genesis

Genesis, the book of beginnings, contains in its first eleven chapters a summary of the history of the world prior to the time of Abraham. We are told of Creation, the Fall, the expulsion from Eden, the murder of Abel and the curse on Cain, the Flood, the bow of promise, the family of Noah, the Dispersion of the peoples, the building of cities, the confusion of tongues. Although many names occur in the historical books, we have only brief statements concerning most of them. Of others we are told much. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the three great patriarchs, have their stories told at length. The story of Joseph gives us instruction concerning the wisdom and profitableness of right conduct, and also prepares the way for the account of the Exodus. Even the casual turning over of the pages of Genesis will reveal something of its structure as a book. Genealogy is a very important part of the duty of the historiographer. We see this for example in the opening of I Chronicles and also in the opening of Matthew and in Luke, ch. 3. It appears in the following outline:—

Genesis

1. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. 1:1–2:3.
2. These are the generations of the heavens and the earth. 2:4–4:26.
3. This is the book of the generations of Adam. 5:16:8.
4. These are the generations of Noah. 6:9–9:28.
5. These are the generations of the Sons of Noah. 10:1–11:9.
6. These are the generations of Shem. 11:10–26.

7. These are the generations of Terah (the father of Abram. 11:27–32.
8. And Jehovah said unto Abram (call of Abram). 12:1–25:11.
9. These are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son. 25:12–18.
10. These are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son. 25:19–35:29.
11. These are the generations of Esau. 36:1–43.
12. These are the generations of Jacob, whose twelve sons were the ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. 37:1–50:26.

Arranged in this way the general plan of the book of Genesis is clear. It is the beginning 1. of the earth 2. of the human race 3. of the Jew. It leaves "the sons of Israel" in Egypt, whither they had gone, as told in the story of Joseph, and from which they were to be led forth, as told in Exodus. Under the different subdivisions are preserved the stories which properly belong in each. Some of the divisions are brief, like 7, the "generations of Terah," which simply tells us of the immediate family of Terah, the father of Abram, or 9, the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, while others, like 8, which contains the life of Abraham from his call to his death, or 10, which closes with the death of Isaac, or 12 which contains the story of Joseph, and ends with his death, are long and contain many stories concerning the lives of the important characters presented.

Exodus

The other historical books have each its definite purpose, which is to preserve, and to present in an orderly manner, an account of the important events and personages in the period of Hebrew history which it covers.

Genesis closes with "all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house" in Egypt after a brief return to Canaan, whither they went to bury Jacob. Exodus opens with a brief statement concerning the descendants of Jacob who were dwelling in Egypt, and the history of the Israelites as slaves under "a new king," "who knew not Joseph." An outline of the book reveals the following general structure:—

Exodus

1. Israelites in Egypt. 1:1–2:25.
2. Call of Moses and his early history. 3:1–7:25.
3. Plagues of Egypt, 8:1–11:10.
4. The institution of the Passover. 12:1–13:16.
5. Exodus from Egypt and journey to the wilderness of Sinai. 13:17–19:6.
6. The giving of the Law from Sinai (moral and civil). 19:7–24:18.
7. The directions for the Tabernacle and the organizing of ceremonial worship. 25:1–31:18.
8. The Episode of the Golden Calf. 32:1–35.
9. The erection of the Tabernacle, etc. 33:1–40:38.

Exodus closes with the statement that Jehovah, who had spoken from the top of Sinai, now manifested himself visibly in the Tabernacle:—

"For the cloud of Jehovah was upon the Tabernacle by day, and there was fire therein by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys." Exodus 40:38.

Leviticus

Leviticus is a book of laws, treating especially of the duties of the sons of Levi, the priests, whence its name in the Septuagint. On examining its contents as we

have those of Genesis and Exodus, we find that it consists of the following:—

1. Laws of Sacrifice with rituals and directions to the priests. 1:1–16:34.
2. The Law of Holiness. 17:1–26:46.
3. Concerning vows and tithes. 27:1–34.

Many expressions from the Law of Holiness occur in Ezekiel, some nowhere else, and there is a close resemblance between Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness in the conception of the holiness of Jehovah.

Numbers

The book of Numbers covers a period of thirty-eight of the forty years that elapsed between the Exodus from Egypt and the entry into Canaan, and relates the events that happened between the time at which the Israelites left the wilderness of Sinai, in the second year, and their arrival on "the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho" Numbers 36:13. It contains, as the name indicates, a census of the tribes, preparatory to the leaving of Sinai for the journey to the promised land. An outline is as follows:—

Numbers

I. Preparations
1. Census of the tribes except the Levites. 1:1–2:34.
2. Census of the Levites. 3:1–4:49.
3. Purification of the camp. 5:1–31.
4. The Vow of the Nazarites. 6:1–27.
5. The offerings by the princes of the tribes. 7:1–89.
6. Consecration of the Levites. 8:1–26.
7. The Keeping of the Passover. 9:1–14.
8. Regulations for the March. 9:15–10:10.

II. The March

1. The beginning of the March. 10:11–36.
2. Murmurings. 11:1–14:45.
3. Special laws concerning offerings. 15:1–41.
4. Murmurings. 16:1–21:35.
5. The Story of Balaam. 22:1–24:25.
6. Events in Moab. 25:1–36:13, 33:1–56, is the itinerary from Egypt to Moab.

Deuteronomy

Deuteronomy is frequently spoken of as "the farewell speeches of Moses." It is identified by scholars with the book found in the reign of Josiah, II Kings 22:8. The name of the book is from the Septuagint and means a second giving of the law. The ten commandments given on Sinai, and recorded in Exodus, ch. 20, are repeated, in Deuteronomy, ch. 5, and the code and interpretations of the laws constitute, as Dr. Driver has expressed it, "a manual which without entering into technical details (almost the only exception is 14:3–20, which explains itself) would instruct the Israelite in the ordinary duties of life. . . . Deuteronomy is, however, more than a mere code of laws; it is the expression of a profound ethical and religious spirit, which determines its character in every part." [1] It is a summary of the history of the Israelites up to the actual entry into Canaan.

The scene suggested by the opening verses is dramatic. We picture to ourselves a multitude standing, or sitting in a large open plain or wilderness, and Moses, in some commanding position, speaking to them and recalling to their minds the incidents and lessons of

[1] S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 77.

the past forty years. He emphasizes the fact that he has given them a written law, which must be followed:—

"And Jehovah thy God will make thee plenteous in all the work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, for good: for Jehovah will again rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers; if thou shalt obey the voice of Jehovah thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law; if thou turn unto Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul." Deuteronomy 30:9, 10.

We can hear these words of Moses ringing through the centuries as one historian after another recounted the deeds and misdeeds of Israel. The work of Moses had been completed. He had brought them to the boundary which he himself might not cross with them. He was allowed to view the Promised Land from the top of Mount Pisgah, and then:—

"Moses the servant of Jehovah died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of Jehovah. And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." Deuteronomy 34:5–6.

An outline is:—

Deuteronomy

1. Introduction giving time and place of the speeches of Moses. 1:1–4.
2. First speech of Moses. 1:5–4:40.
3. Episode—The setting apart of cities of refuge. 4:41–43.
4. Introduction to second speech. 4:44–49.

5. Second speech of Moses. 5:1–11:32.
6. A code of laws. 12:1–26:19.
7. A rehearsal of the ceremony of blessing and cursing. 27:1–26.
8. Third speech of Moses. 28:1–68.
9. Fourth speech of Moses. 29:1–31:13.
10. Introduction to the Song of Moses. 31:14–30.
11. Song of Moses. 32:1–47.
12. Last words of Moses. 32:48–33:29.
13. Postscript concerning the death of Moses and succession of Joshua. 34:1–12.

THE FORMER PROPHETS

Omitting here the book of Ruth, which the Hebrew places in the "Writings," or third collection of scriptures, and which appears after Judges, in the Septuagint, because the story is laid in "the days when the judges judged," Ruth 1:1, we proceed in our examination of the Bible and find, following the Pentateuch, a series of historical books, Joshua–II Kings, known to the Jews as the "Former Prophets," which cover the period from the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, the successor of Moses, in the fifteenth century B. C. to the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the destruction of the Temple, the carrying off to Babylon into captivity of Jehoiachin King of Judah, and his release from prison, in 562 B. C. The northern kingdom of Israel had been overrun by the Assyrians and the people carried off captive by 722 B. C. in the reign of Hoshea. This conquest was begun by Shalmaneser, II Kings 17:3–5, and completed by Sargon, who in an inscription states that he took the city of Samaria and carried into captivity twenty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety of the inhabit-

ants. This ended the Kingdom of Israel, and after this the "ten tribes" became "lost."

Joshua

This series of historical books contains accounts of the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites under Joshua, and his insistence upon the necessity of following "the book of the law of Moses," Joshua 8:30–35; [1] the distribution of the land among the tribes of Israel, except the Levites, who were set apart to be priests; the appointing of the cities of refuge as directed by Moses; the vow of the people to serve Jehovah, and the covenant which Joshua made with the people, and wrote "in the book of the law of God," Joshua 29:26; the death of Joshua; the burial in Shechem of the bones of Joseph, which had been brought from Egypt, Genesis 50:25, Exodus 13:19; and the death of Eleazar, who had succeeded his father Aaron as High Priest on the latter's death, Numbers 20:28. Aaron, like Moses, was not permitted to enter the promised land. Similar in content and purpose to the farewell speeches of Moses, recorded in Deuteronomy, are the farewell speeches of Joshua, given in the last two chapters of the book. Like Moses, Joshua besought the people to be faithful to Jehovah and to refrain from worshipping foreign gods. The historians tell how Israel often forgot these warnings of Moses and Joshua, and how disasters inevitably followed.

An outline of the contents of the book is as follows:—

[1] According to an ancient rabbinical tradition Joshua wrote the law of Moses upon stones, Joshua 8:32, in all the languages of the world, supposed to be seventy in number, and not only in Hebrew for the Jews.

Joshua

Conquest of Canaan

1. Preparation for entering the promised land. The incident of Rahab and the Spies. 1:1–2:24.
2. The crossing of Jordan and the setting up of memorial stones. 3:1–4:24.
3. Circumcision of the people that were born in the wilderness. 5:1–9.
4. Keeping of the Passover. 5:10–12.
5. Vision of Joshua—"The man with the drawn sword." 5:13–15.
6. Capture of Jericho and Ai. The incident of Achan. 6:1–8:29.
7. The reading of the law at Ebal. 8:30–35.
8. The Incident of the Gibeonites' stratagem. 9:1–27.
9. Defeat of the kings. 10:1–11:23.
10. Summary of the conquest of Canaan. 12:1–24.

Apportionment of Canaan

1. The apportionment of the land to the tribes except Levi. 13:1–19:51.
2. The assignment of cities of refuge 20:1–9.
3. The assignment of cities to the Levites. 21:1–45.
4. The return of the Reubenites and Gadites and half-tribe of Manasseh. 22:1–34.

Farewell and death of Joshua

1. First farewell speech of Joshua. 23:1–16.
2. Second farewell speech of Joshua. 24:1–28.
3. Death of Joshua. Burial of bones of Joseph. Death of Eleazar. 24:29–33.

With the deaths of Joshua and Eleazar, the successors of Moses and Aaron, the Egyptian period of Israel's

history may be said to have come to a close. Israel is now organized and established in its own land.

Judges

At Antioch of Pisidia, Paul told the people that God bare with the children of Israel in the wilderness "for about the time of forty years," after which they had judges "for about four hundred and fifty years," "until Samuel the prophet." Acts 13:18–20. It was Samuel that anointed Saul to be the first king over Israel, I Samuel 10:1, an event which occurred about eleven centuries before the Christian era. The book of Judges, so called from the persons whose deeds are recorded in it, opens with an introductory section connecting it with the close of Joshua, and recounting the successes of Judah and Simeon against the Canaanites and the Perizzites, and the punishment of Adoni-bezek, who had humbled "three score and ten kings." The children of Judah took and burned Jerusalem. The house of Joseph also prospered and took Bethel. Emphasis is laid on the failure of the other tribes to carry out the commandments of Jehovah, as given them by Joshua, that they were not to mingle with other nations. Joshua 23:7–13. We are told that "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." "Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Beth-Shean," and "Ephraim drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer," and "Zebulon drove not out the inhabitants of Kitron," and "Asher drove not out the inhabitants of Acco," and "Naphtali drove not out the inhabitants of Beth Shemesh," and "the Amorites forced the chil-

dren of Dan into the hill-country." This apparent willingness of the children of Israel to dwell on terms of amity with the other peoples led to the appearance of the Angel of Jehovah,[1] a dramatic episode, in the light of which we read the subsequent history of Israel:—

"And the Angel of Jehovah came up from Gilgal to Bochim, And he said, I made you to go up out of Egypt, unto the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you: and ye shall make no covenant with the inhabitants of this land; ye shall break down their altars. But ye have not hearkened unto my voice: why have ye done this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be *as thorns* in your sides, and their gods shall be a snare unto you." Judges 2:1–3.

Egypt, the wilderness journey, the conquest of Canaan, all past, and strict obedience to the commands of Jehovah, as transmitted by Moses, being required, to ensure the peace and happiness that had been promised to the seed of Abraham, we find the people, just as in the wilderness, forgetful of all that Jehovah had done for them, and forsaking "the God of their fathers" to follow after "other gods, of the gods of the peoples that were round about them." "And they forsook Jehovah, and served Baal and the Ashtaroth." Judges 2:12, 13.

Judges is a sad history of about four centuries of faithlessness and idolatry, during which the nation is subjected to attack seven times; by the king of Mesopotamia, 3:8; the king of Moab, 3:12; the Philistines, 3:31; the king of Canaan, 4:2; the Midianites, 6:1;

[1] See also Judges 6:11 for mention of the Angel of Jehovah.

the Ammonites, 10:9; the Philistines, 13:1. Each time they were delivered by some specially appointed leader; by Othniel, from the king of Mesopotamia, 3:9; by Ehud from the king of Moab, 3:15; by Shamgar from the Philistines, 3:31; by Deborah, the prophetess and judge, from the king of Canaan, 4:1–5:31; by Gideon from the Midianites, 6:7–8:35; by Jephthah from the Ammonites, 11:1–12:7; by Samson from the Philistines, 13:1–16:31.

There seemed to be an almost complete neglect of the ceremonials and laws prescribed by Moses, the only mention of a High-Priest being, 20:27–28, where the Ark of the Covenant is stated to have been at Beth-el, and Phinehas, the son of Eleazar "stood before it in those days." Judges closes with the stories of Micah, and his graven image, 17:1-18:31, the Levite and his concubine, 19:1–30, and the civil war between Benjamin and the rest of Israel, because of Benjamin's refusal to summon the "base fellows" of Gibeah",20:1–21:25. A summary of the period of the judges may be found in the last verse of the book:—

"In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes." 21:25.

An outline of the book is—

Judges

1. Introduction, showing conditions in Canaan following the deaths of Joshua and Eleazar. 1:1–2:10.

2. Idolatry of Israel and consequent servitude to other nations. 2:11–3:6.

3. Accounts of various invasions and rescues. 3:7–16:31. Stories of Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson.

4. Episode of Micah and his idolatry. 17:1–13.
5. Episode of the Danites and Micah's graven image. 18:1–31.
6. Episode of the Levite and his concubine. 19:1–30.
7. Civil war of Israel with Benjamin. 20:1–21:25.

I and II Samuel

With the books of Samuel (one book in Hebrew, divided into two in the Septuagint, which calls them I and II Kings, as does the Vulgate), we pass to the history of Israel under the kings, the first of whom was Saul. In the speech at Antioch, from which we have already quoted, Paul said:—

"And after these things he gave them judges until the time of Samuel the prophet. And afterward they asked for a king: and God gave them Saul the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, for the space of forty years. And when he had removed him, he raised up David to be their king. . . . Of this man's seed hath God according to promise brought unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." Acts 13:20–23.

This passage indicates not only Paul's familiarity with history as recorded in the Scriptures, but also a reason in the mind of this highly-educated Pharisee, for the great importance of David, and his lineage, in addition to the fact that it was David who prepared for, and his son Solomon, who built, the Temple, after the expulsion of the Jebusites from Jerusalem, II Samuel 5:6–10.[1]

The first book of Samuel tells of the birth of Samuel; his vision and call; the defeat of the Israelites by the

[1] The expectation of the Jew that the Messiah would come from the lineage of David appears in such passages as Isaiah 9:7, Jeremiah 23:5, 6.

Philistines and the loss of the Ark in consequence of the wickedness of Eli's sons; its restoration, and the subsequent defeat of the Philistines under Samuel; the sinfulness of Samuel's sons; the granting of the demand of the people for a king; and the reign of Saul.

On the death of Saul, David was anointed king over the house of Judah in Hebron, but Abner the captain of Saul's army made Ish-bosheth, son of Saul, king over Israel. A quarrel with Ish-bosheth led to Abner's allying himself with David. After the death of Abner, the power of Ish-bosheth declined, and he was slain by men who thought thus to gain favor with David, but he was so far from approving their deed that he caused the assassins to be put to death. The people, however, wanted David as king, and the elders came to him in Hebron and anointed him king over Israel. II Samuel 5:3–5. The history of David, begun in I Samuel is continued, through II Samuel to I Kings 2:10–12, which records his death and the succession of Solomon, after an attempt by Adonijah to seize the kingdom.

An outline is as follows:—

I Samuel

1. The birth of Samuel. 1:1–2:11.
2. The corruptness of Eli's sons. 2:12–36.
3. The call of Samuel and the restoration of theocracy. 3:1–21.
4. The loss and restoration of the Ark. 4:1–6:21.
5. Defeat of the Philistines by Samuel. 7:1–17.
6. The demand for a King. 8:1–22.
7. The story of Saul and David. 9:1–31:13.
   - Saul's meeting with Samuel. ch. 9.
   - The anointing of Saul to be king of Israel. ch. 10.
   - Saul's defeat of the Ammonites. ch. 11.

Address of Samuel to Israel. ch. 12.
Wars with the Philistines and Amalekites. chs. 13–15.
The choosing of David son of Jesse. ch. 16.
David and Goliath. ch. 17.
Saul jealous of David. ch. 18.
David and Jonathan. chs. 19–20.
Saul pursues David. chs. 21–23.
David spares Saul's life. ch. 24.
The Death of Samuel. 25:1.
Story of Nabal and Abigail. 25:2–43.
David spares Saul's life. ch. 26.
David flees to the Philistines who mistrust him. chs. 27–29.
Saul consults the woman of Endor. ch. 28.
David defeats the Amalekites. ch. 30.
Saul defeated and slain at Gilboa. ch. 31.

II Samuel

1. David's lament over Saul and Jonathan. 1:1–27.
2. David made King of Judah, Ish-bosheth King of Israel. 2:1–32.
3. War between house of David and house of Saul. 3:1–4:12.
4. David made King of Israel. 5:1–25.
5. The Ark brought to Jerusalem. Plans for the Temple. 6:1–7:29.
6. Victories over Philistia, Moab, Zobah and Syria. 8:1–18.
7. Kindness to Mephibosheth. 9:1–13.
8. War with Ammon and Syria. 10:1–19.
9. Story of Bath-sheba. 11:1–12:31.
10. Story of Tamar. 13:1–19.
11. Story of Absalom. 13:20–19:43.
12. Incident of Sheba, son of Bichri. 20:1–24.
13. War with the Philistines. 21:1–22.

14. Song of Deliverance and last words of David. 22:1–23:7.
15. List of David's mighty men. 23:8–39.
16. Incidents of the numbering of the people, and of the threshing-floor of Araunah. 24:1–25.

I and II Kings

These books are in the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, called III and IV Kings. The history of the reign of Solomon, and his building of the Temple is narrated in I Kings 2:13–11:43. Solomon's reign was one of splendor. Suetonius said of Augustus, "He found Rome brick, and left it marble." So Solomon built in Jerusalem not only the marvelous Temple, for which David had gathered material, but also a palace for himself, even larger than the Temple, and similarly constructed of the most costly wood and stone, I Kings 6:1–7:51. He also built cities, II Chronicles 8:3–6. After the death of Solomon, there happened an event of far-reaching consequences, the division of the kingdom, resulting from the revolt of ten tribes, under Jeroboam, against the tyranny of Rehoboam, who rejected the advice of the old men and threatened to increase the burdens of the people. Jeroboam withdrew and built Shechem, where he dwelt. In order to prevent the people from returning to Rehoboam, because the Temple was at Jerusalem, Jeroboam made two calves of gold, which he set up "the one in Beth-el, and the other put he in Dan," and said, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." I Kings 12:25-29.

Rehoboam reigned at Jerusalem over Judah and Benjamin, as King of Judah, and Jeroboam, as King of Israel, at Shechem. The latter was the place in which

the bones of Joseph had been buried, and where Joshua wrote the words of the covenant with the people "in the book of the law of God, and he took a great stone, and set it up there under the oak that was by the sanctuary of Jehovah." Joshua 24:26. At Nablus, the ancient Shechem, is preserved a famous copy of the sacred book of the law of Moses. The existence of the two kingdoms gave rise to much trouble in succeeding generations, and the existence of two centers of the worship of Jehovah was likewise productive of many controversies, and raised such questions as that of the woman at the well:—

"Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." John 4:20.

From the division of the tribes, on the death of Solomon, the history becomes rather more complicated, because both kingdoms, and particularly their quarrels, have to be considered by the historiographer. We have, therefore, in the books of Kings, and also in the later books of Chronicles, references to the records kept in the two kingdoms concerning their kings, for example:—

"The rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?" I Kings 15:7.

But of Nadab we read:—

"The rest of the acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?" I Kings 15:31.

Concerning Solomon, reference is made to a book of the acts of Solomon, I Kings 11:41.

The book of Kings, for we must consider it one book, and not two, may be divided into three parts:—

I and II Kings

1. The reign of Solomon. I Kings. 1:1–11:43.
2. The history of the divided kingdoms, Judah and Israel, from Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the fall of Samaria, and captivity of Israel under the Assyrians. I Kings 12:1–II. Kings 17:41.
3. The history of Judah from Hezekiah to the fall of Jerusalem, and captivity of Judah under the Babylonians. II Kings 18:1–25:30.

Included in Kings are stories of the prophets Elijah, I Kings 17:1–II Kings 2:18, and Elisha, his companion and successor, I Kings 19:16–II Kings 13:21, which do not appear in Chronicles, which contains no account of Elisha, and mentions Elijah in only one passage, II Chronicles 21:12, in which a message from "Elijah the prophet" to Jehoram is given.

THE LATER HISTORIES

With the close of II Kings we come to the end of the older series of historical books, called by the Jews the "Former Prophets," which deal with events prior to what was known as the Babylonian exile, which followed the destruction of Jerusalem. With that event terminated a distinct period of Jewish history. The book of Daniel opens with a reference to the captivity of Jehoiakim King of Judah in Babylonia, while Ezekiel begins with mention of the captivity of Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim, II Kings 24:6, a later event, but Ezekiel was included by the Jews among the "Prophets,"

while Daniel appears in the third Hebrew collection, or the "Writings."

Chronicles, Ezra–Nehemiah

Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah are a series of historical books found in the third collection. To the Chronicles was given in the Septuagint and, following it, in the Vulgate, the title "Paraleipomenon," or "things omitted," thus indicating that the books were thought to supplement Samuel–Kings. Ezra and Nehemiah do supplement the older series in giving us accounts of what happened later than the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. Nehemiah differs from the other historical books in the fact that it is written in the first person.

The later series of books makes use of the earlier as sources of information. Writings, now lost, were also used, as the references to them show. A glance at the historical books will indicate how largely the later series duplicates the earlier, and also how much of the matter contained in the earlier books is wholly omitted, as not essential to the purpose of the later writers, which was, evidently, to set forth clearly all that concerned particularly the Temple at Jerusalem and the worship of Jehovah there. David is glorified and his many sins passed over silently. That much was purposely omitted is to be inferred from the numerous references to other books in which further information concerning kings may be found.

Beginning the detailed history with the death of Saul, and the accession of David, the opening chapters having been genealogical, from Adam to the family of Saul, the books of Chronicles continue through the reigns of David and of Solomon to that of Zedekiah, king of Judah, omitting, except when it could

not well be avoided, as in the account of Jeroboam's rebellion, II Chronicles, ch. 10, or the story of Ahaziah, II Chronicles 22:7–9, mention of the northern kingdom of Israel. Even the ending of that kingdom by the fall of Samaria, and the carrying off of the ten tribes into captivity in Assyria, of which we read in II Kings is not referred to in II Chronicles.

That the purpose of the author of Chronicles was not only to record facts, but also to teach moral lessons drawn from the facts, is indicated in such passages as the following:—

"So Saul died for his trespass which he committed against Jehovah, because of the word of Jehovah which he kept not; and also for that he asked counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire thereby, and inquired not of Jehovah: therefore he slew him, and turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse." I Chronicles 10:13.

There is no such statement in I Samuel, ch. 31, in the account of Saul's death. Another passage, indicating a difference in purpose between the later historian and the earlier, is found in the story of Uzziah who was a leper. In II Chronicles we read:—

"But when he [Uzziah] was strong, his heart was lifted up, so that he did corruptly, and he trespassed against Jehovah his God; for he went into the temple of Jehovah to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the priest went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of Jehovah, that were valiant men: and they withstood Uzziah the king, and said unto him, It pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto Jehovah, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honor from Jehovah God. Then Uzziah was

wroth; and he had a censer in his hand to burn incense; and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy brake forth in his forehead before the priests in the house of Jehovah, beside the altar of incense." II Chronicles 26:16–19.

Concerning Uzziah (Azariah), we read in II Kings:—

"And Jehovah smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a separate house." II Kings 15:5.

No mention is made of the incident of his attempting to burn incense in the Temple, although it is stated that:—

"The people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places." II Kings 15:4.

Other passages in which the Chronicles drew moral lessons from the facts are I Chronicles 15:13; II Chronicles 12:1–12, 17:10, 21:10–15, 22:7–9, 24:23–25, 25:20–24, 28:5, 19, 22, 23, 33:11–13; 35:21–23; 36:12–21. In each case calamity and affliction are attributed directly to disregard of the laws of Jehovah.

An outline is as follows:—

I Chronicles

1. Genealogies. Adam—sons of Azel, I Chronicles 1:1–9:44.
2. Death of Saul. 10:1–14.
3. History of David. 11:1–29:30.
   - Capture of Jerusalem. 11:4–9.
   - Removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem. 13:1–16:6.
   - Psalm of Thanksgiving. 16:7–36.

Plans and preparations for the Temple, 17:1–29:21.

Death of David and accession of Solomon. 29:22–30.

II Chronicles

1. Solomon's prayer for wisdom, in the tent of Moses at Gibeon. 1:1–17.
2. Solomon announces his purpose to build the Temple. 2:1–18.
3. The building of the Temple. 3:1–4:22.
4. Bringing the Ark to the Temple. 5:1–14.
5. Solomon's address and prayer of dedication. 6:1–42.
6. The glory of Jehovah fills Jehovah's house. 7:1–22.
7. Solomon's building of cities, religious observances, etc. 8:1–18.
8. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, his wealth, and death. 9:1–31.
9. The revolt of Jeroboam. 10:1–19.
10. The reign of Rehoboam at Jerusalem. 11:1–12:16.
11. The reigns over Judah from Abijah to Zedekiah. 13:1–36:16.
12. Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and captivity of Judah. 36:17–21.

Ezra

1. Cyrus restores the Temple treasures, and orders the Temple rebuilt. 1:1–11.
2. List of those who returned from Babylon. 2:1–70.
3. Worship resumed at the altar in Jerusalem. 3:1–13.
4. Rebuilding of the Temple hindered. Correspondence with Artaxerxes. 4:1–24.
5. Rebuilding of the Temple resumed. 5:1–6:22.
6. Arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem with letter from Artaxerxes. 7:1–28.

7. List of those who returned with Ezra. 8:1–36.
8. Ezra's confession and prayer. Promise of the people concerning mixed marriages. 9:1–10:44.

Nehemiah

1. Nehemiah's prayer. 1:1–11.
2. Nehemiah views the ruins of Jerusalem. 2:1–20.
3. Nehemiah rebuilds the wall, in spite of hindrances. 3:1–6:19.
4. List of those who returned. 7:1–73.
5. Ezra reads the law of Moses to the people, and Nehemiah addresses them. 8:1–18.
6. The Prayer of the Levites. 9:1–38.
7. Names of those who sealed the covenant with Jehovah to keep the Law and maintain the Temple services. 10:1–39.
8. Names of those who dwelt in Jerusalem. 11:1–36.
9. List of priests and Levites who came with Zerubbabel. 12:1–26.
10. Dedication of the wall, and arrangements for Temple service. 12:27–47.
11. Incident of Tobiah. 13:1–9.
12. Payment of tithes, sabbath observance, mixed marriages. 13:10–31.

Ezra–Nehemiah is an account of the return of the captives from Babylonia, under the leadership of Zerubbabel, the restoration of Jerusalem, the reorganization of the people, and the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem in 432 B. C. This all centered in the rebuilding of the Temple and the reëstablishment of the Temple worship. With this the history contained in the Scriptures of the Jews closes.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

The Gospels

In the New Testament are five books that are historical, or, perhaps more correctly, biographical since they contain not national history, but accounts of the lives, words and deeds of Jesus and his followers. They are Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and Acts. Four of these books are called Gospels, and these four are distinguished as the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark and Luke, and the Fourth Gospel, John. The first three give accounts of the life of Jesus, dealing particularly with the external facts. The Fourth deals more with the spiritual and philosophical aspects of the personality and teachings of Jesus. Another distinction which is observed is that the Synoptic Gospels contain a number of addresses to the multitude, and many parables, while the Fourth contains much allegory, and discourses to the disciples, and individuals, but not the multitude. Of the authors to whom Gospels have commonly been attributed, Matthew and John were Apostles, while Mark and Luke were friends of the Apostles. Luke was the traditionally accepted author of Acts, as he was of the Gospel, which is known by his name. He is called "Luke the beloved physician" by Paul, in Colossians 4:14, and is mentioned in II Timothy 4:11, and Philemon, v. 24. He was in close relationship to Paul, and therefore in a position to know about most of the events recorded in Acts. His qualifications as a historian may be inferred, from the two books attributed to him, and especially from the careful statement with which the Gospel of Luke opens.

Mark, which is regarded as the oldest Gospel, contains material almost all of which appears also in Mat-

thew and Luke. These are considerably longer and contain accounts of the life of Jesus up to the time of his baptism by John, an event with which Mark and John both begin, the latter prefacing his Gospel by a passage about the Logos of God and his incarnation. Mark records with minute detail many incidents which, while included in other Gospels, are not so picturesquely described, for example, no one but Mark records the anger of Jesus at the Scribes and Pharisees when he healed the withered hand on the Sabbath:—

"And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved at the hardening of their heart, he saith unto the man, Stretch forth thy hand. And he stretched it forth; and his hand was restored." Mark 3:5.

Mark alone records the miracle of the healing of the deaf man with the impediment in his speech, and the details are given:—

"And he took him aside from the multitude privately, and put his fingers into his ears, and he spat and touched his tongue; and looking up to Heaven, he sighed, and saith unto him Ephphatha, that is, Be opened. And his ears were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he spake plain." Mark 7:33–35.

Other examples of this quality of Mark will be apparent to anyone who will compare the accounts of the same incidents as given in Mark, and as given in other Gospels.

Matthew is sometimes spoken of as the Gospel for the Jews, as Luke is called the Gospel for the Gentiles, because the former treats of Jesus as "the son of David, the son of Abraham," 1:1, and has much to say of the

establishment of a Messianic Kingdom on earth. Luke's conception is broader and includes the whole world. He alone records the sending out of the seventy. Luke 10:1–24. Matthew contains, chs. 5, 6, 7, the Sermon on the Mount. The version in Luke is incomplete and not continuous, 6:20–49, 11:9–13, 12:22–31, but contains, 6:24–26, sayings of denunciation not found in Matthew. In Luke are accounts of the childhood and early manhood of Jesus not included in the other Gospels. Luke alone gives the parable of the Good Samaritan, 10:25–37, and has more to say than the others about miracles of healing. This is attributed to his being a physician. The Fourth Gospel, or John, spiritual, philosophical and esoteric, is addressed in large part to the disciples, or to individuals, rather than to the multitude. Examples of this, peculiar to John, are the story of the first three disciples, 1:35–42; the call of Philip and Nathanael, 1:43–51; the miracle of Cana, 2:1–11; the conversation with Nicodemus, 2:23–3:21; the conversation with the woman of Samaria, 4:4–26; the man at the pool of Bethesda, 5:1–46; the discourse on the Bread of Life, 6:22–71; the visit to the Feast of Tabernacles, 7:1–52; the discourses on the Light of the World, and spiritual freedom, 8:12–59; the Good Shepherd, 10:1–21; the raising of Lazarus, 11:1–46; the farewell discourses, chs. 14–17; the appearance to Thomas, 20:26–29; the appearance to the seven disciples, 21:1–24. Only by making a "harmony" of the Gospels can these extraordinary differences in their contents be made manifest. While there are four Gospels, they are so different from each other, with all their similarities, that we could not omit one of them in a study of the life and words of Jesus without neglecting material of vital importance.

The Acts of the Apostles

The book of the Acts of the Apostles attributed to Luke, opens with the Ascension and incidents connected with it, which are found nowhere else. Luke ends with the Ascension, as does also the supplementary passage, Mark 16:9–20, but it is not referred to by Matthew, and is mentioned by John in two passages, 6:62, 20:17, as foretold by Jesus, but not as occurring. It is mentioned also in Acts 2:33,34, 5:31; I Peter 3:22; Ephesians 2:6, 4:10; I Timothy 3:16, but it is interesting to note that the account of it in Acts is fuller than that given in the Gospel of Luke.

Acts tells us of the gift of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, the preaching of Peter and John, the persecutions and difficulties of the young Church, the martyrdom of Stephen, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, the conversion of Saul, the imprisonment and miraculous release of Peter, the missionary journeys, preaching and afflictions of Paul, his defense before Festus and Agrippa, his appeal to Cæsar, and his perilous journey to Rome.

With the Ascension, the history of Christianity entered upon a second stage, and the book of Acts is the record of the events which happened between the bodily disappearance of Jesus in the cloud, and the preaching of Paul in Rome, at the close of a life of intrepid courage amid perils of all kinds, in the performance of his duties as a preacher of the Gospel to the Gentiles, as well as to the Jews.

CHAPTER VII

BIBLICAL STORIES

Ruth, Esther, Jonah, Tobit and Judith form, as literature, a class of their own in the Old Testament and Apocrypha. They are stories, although Jonah was by the Jews included among the "Minor Prophets." Much of the historical books is composed of stories embedded in the structure of history.

Ruth

Ruth and Esther are two short prose stories, one purely idyllic, with its pictures of the pastoral life, and its wonderfully beautiful presentation of human relationships, the other verging on history. Each contains, as its chief character, an extraordinary young woman. In a literary way, they stand out distinct from the other books of the Old Testament.

Interpreted by some as a parable representing, in its different characters, God's relations to sinners, Ruth is an unexcelled example of ancient story-telling. Its presence in the Jewish Scriptures is accounted for, whatever other good reasons may be assigned, by the statement in the closing verse:—

"Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse, and Jesse begat David." Ruth 4:21–22.

Ruth and Boaz are mentioned as the great-grandparents of David in Matthew 1:5, and Boaz is named

in Luke 3:32, thus placing the time of the story of Ruth about a hundred years before David. The scene is in Bethlehem of Judea, "the city of David." Just what the purpose, if any, of Ruth may be, in its teachings concerning the much-discussed question of marriage between Jews and other peoples, as set forth in such passages as Deuteronomy 7:1–4, 23:3–6; where mixed marriages are forbidden, or Ezra 9:1–2, where the fact of mixed marriages is recited as an abomination, we do not know, but it is worthy of note, in view of such passages, that we find the story of a mixed marriage told with no intimation that such a practice was not to be approved.

The story of Ruth may bear all, or none, of the secondary interpretations that have been given to it, but it remains, on account of its simple story of fidelity and affection, one of the loveliest pictures that we have of life in Palestine. The scene is laid in the time of the judges, and, for this reason, the book was, in the Septuagint, placed immediately after Judges, although in the Hebrew Scriptures it is in the "Writings." The contrast between the peaceful and virtuous life of the village as depicted in Ruth, and the kind of life represented in the stories of Samson, is such as to make us realize that in every age, however disorderly and corrupt it may be, the ideas and practice of the domestic virtues are always to be found in lives uninfluenced in that respect by the irreligion and immorality of the time by which they may be surrounded. Whatever may be the date at which Ruth was written, we find the conception of the religious life of the family and home similar to that which is set forth in Psalms 127, 128, 133, or in the exquisite picture in Proverbs ch. 31 of the "worthy woman," on whose tongue is "the law of kind-

ness," whose husband "praiseth her," whose children "call her blessed," "a woman that feareth Jehovah." The influence of the book of Ruth is not due to any didactic purpose of the author, except that of setting forth clearly and simply the characters of the chief actors in it. Transparent virtue is displayed by Ruth with her unselfish devotion, which led her to adopt the land and religion of her mother-in-law Naomi. Orpah, the other daughter-in-law, started to go back with Naomi and Ruth, but, at Naomi's earnest entreaty, returned "unto her people and unto her God," but Ruth went with Naomi to Bethlehem. A fact, often lost sight of in reading the book of Ruth, is that the story is about the love of a young woman for an older one, a daughter-in-law for a mother-in-law, and the coming of Ruth to Bethlehem, where she would be among another people of another religion, was not for the purpose of claiming, or receiving, the benefits of the Mosaic law concerning widows without sons.[1] Naomi specifically tells Ruth and Orpah, that no such prospect lay before them since there were no brothers to marry the widows. Ruth knew nothing of the existence of the wealthy Boaz. She simply wanted to share with Naomi such life as might still be before them.

The poet in Psalm 45, regards it as necessary to say to the queen:—

"Forget also thine own people, and thy father's house."

Ruth needs no such advice and, even against the urging of Naomi, adheres to her decision. If Ruth had been living in Palestine with Chilion the son of Naomi, she might perhaps have desired to continue to live there.

[1] See Deuteronomy 25:5–10.

It was, however, extraordinary for her to go, as a childless widow, away from her people and her God. Naomi must have been a wonderful mother-in-law to have, not only Ruth, but Orpah as well, determine to accompany her in her poverty back to her own home, but the love of Ruth was stronger and more ideal than that of Orpah, great as the love of the latter was for Naomi. Orpah turned back to her own people and her own God, while Ruth continued her journey with the decision which marks great souls, and with the devotion to Naomi which has made her name revered for all time. Ruth as depicted in this ancient story stands forth as one of the world's great types of character, an example of unflinching determination, with unselfish love as its only motive.

"And Ruth said, Entreat me not to leave thee, and to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: Jehovah do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me." Ruth 1:16–17.

The fact that Naomi made to Ruth no mention of Boaz is also not without significance. She is proud and returns to her own people asking no favors of anyone, but saying simply, "call me not Naomi, call me Mara; for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me." 1:20. Ruth asked of Naomi permission to go to the field and glean "after him in whose sight I shall find favor."

"And she went, and came and gleaned in the field after the reapers: and her hap was to light on the portion of the field belonging unto Boaz." 2:3.

Naomi had not asked help of Boaz, nor had she in any way suggested to Ruth that Boaz might assist them. The gleaning of Ruth in the field of Boaz was not done knowingly. It was "her hap." This is brought out clearly in a passage which reveals much concerning the character of Naomi. When Ruth returned from the field bringing the barley she had gleaned:—

"Her mother-in-law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned today? and where hast thou wrought?"

Ruth told her:—

"The man's name with whom I wrought today is Boaz." Ruth 2:17–19.

We have then from the lips of Naomi instant recognition of the goodness of Jehovah who had brought it about:—

"Blessed be he of Jehovah, who hath not left off his kindness to the living and to the dead." Ruth 2:20.

Recognizing the hand of Jehovah in what had occurred, Naomi then, and apparently not until then, tells Ruth that Boaz was a kinsman. But, even yet, no appeal is made to Boaz. His kindness leads Naomi to tell Ruth how to proceed to win his favor, but this is done without letting him know who she was. The goodwill of Boaz was shown, not because Ruth was a kinswoman, in which case he would have been under some obligation to show favor, but because he was a man of noble character. The character of Ruth was known—"The city of my people doth know that thou art a worthy woman," 3:11.

The relationship of Boaz to Ruth serves to bring out yet more strongly the character of Boaz who, after a nearer kinsman had refused to buy the field, when he heard that he must, with it, take Ruth and "raise up the name of the dead," purchases the field and takes Ruth for his wife.

Commentators generally call attention to the pictures of the life of Bethlehem, the elders, sitting near the gate, hearing Boaz and the near-kinsman discuss the sale of the land by Naomi, and witnessing the purchase of it by Boaz, after the near-kinsman had given up his right; also to the scene of the return of Naomi, when the women gather around and ask, "Is this Naomi?"; and to the interest of "the women her neighbors" in the child of Ruth. The note of the author, writing in a later age, or of some editor concerning the custom of giving a shoe in confirmation of an exchange shows an interest in old customs and a desire that the knowledge of them should not die out:—

"Now this was the custom in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and concerning exchanging, to confirm all things: a man drew off his shoe and gave it to his neighbor; and this was the *manner of* attestation in Israel." Ruth 4:7.

The fact that a Moabitess, one of another people, and of another religion, could come into Palestine as a worshipper of Jehovah and win from "all the city" of Bethlehem the praise "a worthy woman" and that the devout Boaz "a mighty man of wealth," took her for his wife, is not without its important meaning to a people who thought, as the Jews did, that all other peoples were inferior to them.

Esther

Totally different from Ruth in purpose and contents, is the story of Esther. Here the purpose is not to tell a story in order to delineate human characters and qualities, although much of this is done, but to give an account of an incident, or series of incidents, in the history of the Jews living in Persia, in which a young Jewish woman, who, because of her beauty, had become the chosen queen of Ahasuerus, (identified as Xerxes, 485–465 B. C.) saved her people from massacre by the order of Haman, who himself, and his ten sons after him, were hanged on the gallows that he had, by decree of Ahasuerus, prepared for Mordecai the Jew. In celebration of this deliverance was instituted the feast of Purim or the "lots" as we are told:—

"And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both nigh and far, to enjoin them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the fifteenth day of the same, yearly . . . because Haman . . . the enemy of all the Jews, had plotted against the Jews to destroy them, and had cast Pur, that is, the lot, to consume them . . . wherefore they called these days Purim, after the name of Pur . . . And the commandment of Esther confirmed these matters of Purim; and it was written in the book." Esther 9:20–32.

The earliest reference, after Esther, to this feast, is in an account of the defeat of Nicanor:—

"And they all ordained with a common decree . . . to mark with honour the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (it is called Adar in the Syrian tongue), the day before the day of Mordecai." II Maccabees 15:36.

The fact that Esther does not contain the name of God, and is purely secular history, all references to religion being conspicuously absent, and even the deliverance of the Jews being nowhere attributed to Jehovah, as is customary in all other parts of the Scriptures, caused the early Christian Church to doubt the propriety of including it among the Scriptures. Even among the Jews, some did not esteem it highly, although, later, special importance was attached to it and it was even associated with the Law of Moses.

In the Septuagint version are ten additional verses relating a dream of Mordecai, beginning "Then Mordecai said God hath done these things," which the Vulgate, and, following it, the Douay Version, include, adding also the additional chapters found in the Apocrypha. These chapters were detached by Jerome from the beginning of the book, where they appeared in ancient Greek and Latin versions, and placed at the end. They contain another version of the dream of Mordecai, prayers of Mordecai and Esther, which supply the religious element lacking in the canonical Jewish book and the letter of Artaxerxes.

There are two parts of the book of Esther, the first introductory, to reveal the character of Ahasuerus, and to explain how Esther became queen, by relating the story of Vashti, who, as a result of her refusal to obey the king, was deposed, because, as Memucan said:—

"Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the peoples that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus. For this deed of the queen will come abroad unto all women, to make their husbands contemptible in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen

to be brought in before him, but she came not." Esther 1:16–17.

The second part of the story begins:—

"There was a certain Jew in Shushan the palace, whose name was Mordecai . . . who had been carried away from Jerusalem with the captives that had been carried away with Jeconiah king of Judah[1] . . . and he brought up . . . Esther, his uncle's daughter." Esther 2:5–7.

Esther, chosen for the king's harem, was by the king chosen to be queen instead of Vashti, but, on the advice of Mordecai, she did not make known to the king "her people nor her kindred," 2:10. Mordecai was not known to Haman as a Jew, until the king's servants revealed the fact that Mordecai refused to bow down to Haman, as the other servants did, in obedience to the king's command. The servants were endeavoring to secure the favor of Haman by calling attention to the fact that Mordecai was a Jew. Haman desired to advance his own interests with the king, and used the incident of Mordecai's affront to accomplish his purpose, under the cover of loyalty to his king and people, and, he wished also, to secure revenge for his own wounded vanity by putting to death not only Mordecai, who had insulted him, but also the other Jews, against whom no one but himself seemed to have felt any hostility. He would slaughter a whole people to satisfy a personal grudge or ambition. Haman suddenly discovers that the Jews had been following customs of their own, which differed from those of the Persians, and which did not conform to the laws of the king. He makes this the basis of an appeal to the vanity of

[1] Jehoiachin, II Kings, 24:6.

the king by calling attention to it as an infringement of the royal dignity. The same kind of appeal had proved successful against Vashti. Haman promises the king ten thousand talents of silver, doubtless to be taken from the Jews. The plea of Haman was legally unanswerable, and Ahasuerus, won also by Haman's flattery, and desirous of rewarding this loyal courtier, orders the destruction of the Jews, but tells Haman "the silver is given to thee." The fatal decree was issued and Mordecai heard of it. Here ends the first act of the story of Haman.

The counter-plot now begins. Mordecai reveals the plot to Esther, giving her a copy of the decree against the Jews and calling her attention to the fact that they both must die in accordance with the decree. At this point in the story we have the nearest approach to the usual attitude of the Jew towards Jehovah, as we see it set forth in the Old Testament. Singularly enough there is no mention of the name of Jehovah which seems to have been intentionally avoided, for we read:—

"For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then will relief and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, but thou and thy father's house will perish: and who knoweth whether thou art not come to the kingdom [i. e. thou hast become queen] for such a time as this?" Esther 4:14.

The counter-plot is now arranged. It depends for its success upon the power of Esther the queen, a person condemned to death by the decree, but protected, as yet, by the fact that she was not known to be a Jewess, against the vindictive and powerful Haman, who had already secured from the king the publication, in every province, of a decree, which, according to Persian

law, when published, was irrevocable. In the case of Vashti, her deposition was urged lest the dignity of the king and all other husbands suffer, if disobedience were not punished. Even a queen, and an extraordinarily beautiful one, as Vashti was, could not with impunity disobey a merely whimsical order of her husband. What possible chance then had Esther to prevent the execution, not of a private order of her husband, but of a royal decree? No modern writer, cunningly though he may have constructed his plot, ever presented for solution a more difficult problem. We now see that the story of Vashti is not merely for the purpose of explaining how Esther happened to become queen. It has a very definite meaning in showing how apparently hopeless was the situation by which Esther was confronted, and in which upon her alone depended the lives of all of her race in Persia.

The first step in the solution is the scene in which Esther appears before the king. Before that scene we are asked to picture in imagination all the Jews in Shushan gathered in solemn assembly fasting for three days and nights. It is not said that they were praying, but they were "fasting," and Esther herself and her maidens likewise fasted. It was a dramatic scene when Ahasuerus held out his scepter to Esther and promised, in his love and admiration for her, to grant any request she might make, "even to the half of the kingdom," but the Jews were still in precisely the position they were before, since even the king himself could not revoke his own decree. Esther could, however, under the king's promise, punish Haman, and this she proceeded to do, but not at once by any direct attack. She was a deep thinker and her sense of justice had been outraged by the plot of Haman against her people.

She remembered Mordecai and his loyalty to the king in revealing to the king, through her, a plot against his life, 2:21–22. Mordecai must be honored, and Haman humiliated, and this Esther accomplished. She requested the presence of the king and Haman at a banquet, but when the king asked her to tell him what her petition was, she postponed her reply until the next day, and invited the king and Haman to a second banquet. Haman, as it was intended that he should be, was elated by receiving such extraordinary signs of favor, and told his wife and his friends:—

"Yea, Esther the queen did let no man come in with the king unto the banquet that she had prepared but myself; and tomorrow also am I invited by her together with the king. Yet all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate." Esther 5:12–13.

Haman was disturbed by the presence of Mordecai, and knowing that the life of all Jews was forfeited by the decree, he discussed with his wife Zeresh, and his friends, the way to get rid of Mordecai. They suggest the hanging of Mordecai on a gallows specially built for the purpose, so that Haman, then, with this disturber of his pride and importance out of the way, might go in "merrily with the king unto the banquet." This is an additional incident in the plan of Haman. Mordecai his enemy is to be punished separately.

But the service that Mordecai had rendered in saving the king's life comes forcibly to the attention of Ahasuerus, who, during a sleepless night, has read to him the chronicles, in which the plot against him was recorded. The account arouses him to the idea that Mordecai had never been rewarded for it. The teller

of the story now, with wonderful skill, presents to us pictures of Haman waiting in the outer court to "speak unto the king to hang Mordecai on the gallows that he had prepared for him," 6:4, and of the king, likewise with Mordecai in his mind, asking Haman, who has been admitted to his presence, "What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honor?" With that question comes the beginning of Haman's punishment. Thinking of nothing but himself and not unnaturally elated by the apparent favor of the queen he suddenly finds, in another intensely dramatic situation, that it is not himself, but the man he hates, Mordecai, the Jew, whom he would hang, that is called "the man whom the king delighteth to honor." Instead of leaving the palace with an order to hang Mordecai, Haman leaves with the king's horse, and royal apparel, which he is to present to Mordecai, whom he caused:—

"to ride through the street of the city, and proclaimed before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honor." Esther 6:11.

What a situation!

"Haman hasted to his house, mourning and having his head covered. And Haman recounted unto Zeresh his wife and all his friends everything that had befallen him." Esther 6:12–13.

He did not in his mind connect Esther in any way with the extraordinary favor shown to Mordecai nor was she connected with it, except as the person through whom had come Mordecai's warning of the treachery of Bigthan and Teresh, 2:21–23, which the king had

evidently forgotten, until he heard the account of it read to him. Here ends another act in the dramatic story.

Haman went, still self-important, and apparently in favor with the king and queen, to Esther's banquet. The feelings of Haman, as Esther reveals her race in asking for the life of her people, are to be imagined. The condition of Haman's mind at all stages of the story is, through the skill of the narrator, made quite as important as the external incidents, in fact, without intending a pun, we may say that the whole story of Haman is an example of the principle of dramatic suspense. Leading up to it by the use of the words "adversary and enemy," and calling forth from the king the questions "Who is he, and where is he, that durst presume in his heart to do so?" Esther reaches the dramatic climax, doubtless pointing with her finger as she did so, by uttering the words "This wicked Haman!" The scene calls to mind that in which Nathan, having wrung from David, by his story of the poor man's lamb, the words:—

"As Jehovah liveth, the man that hath done this is worthy to die." II Samuel 12:5.

suddenly declares:—

"Thou art the man!"

With marvelous skill, the story-teller now introduces a situation which gives the king a peculiarly personal reason for punishing Haman:—

"And the king arose in his wrath from the banquet of wine *and went* into the palace garden." Esther 7:7.

When he returned, he found Haman, who had simply been begging for his life:—

". . . fallen upon the couch whereon Esther was. Then said the king, Will he even force the queen before me in the house? As the word went out of the king's mouth, they covered Haman's face. Then said Harbonah, one of the chamberlains that were before the king, Behold also, the gallows fifty cubits high, which Haman hath made for Mordecai, who spake good for the king, standeth in the house of Haman. And the king said, Hang him thereon. So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai." Esther 7:8–10.

The rescue of the Jews from slaughter had not been accomplished by the death of Haman, for the decree, which even the king himself could not revoke, must yet be carried out. The house of Haman had been given to Esther. She had told the king what Mordecai was to her, and to Mordecai the king had given the ring of Haman. A second time does Esther appeal for the lives of her people, and a second time the king holds out to her his golden scepter, in token of approval. He cannot reverse the decree, but he can issue another. This he does and sends it forth:—

"by posts on horseback, riding on swift steeds that were used in the king's service, bred of the stud: wherein the king granted the Jews that were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that would assault them, *their* little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey." Esther 8:10–11.

This decree, and that issued against the Jews, both authorized a war of extermination, women and children

being included in the slaughter. Ahasuerus could not prevent the attack, but he could authorize the defense against it. How well the Jews in Persia carried out the suggestion of the king is related in the ninth chapter which records the slaughter, not of the Jews, as Haman had planned, but of the Persians who opposed the Jews, including five hundred "in Shushan the palace." Mordecai was so powerful that satraps and governors helped the Jews. The king asked Esther what further petition she had, and her request that the ten sons of Haman be hanged upon the gallows was granted. As Joseph became chief in Pharaoh's household, so "Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus."

The development of the story in a logical order with plot and counterplot, numerous dramatic situations, each preparing the way for the next, and with the principle of suspense observed up to the point at which Esther tells the king that Mordecai is her kinsman—all these things display wonderful literary and artistic power. Usually race and religion are closely associated in the Bible, as in Ruth. In Esther, however, the feeling of race is strongly brought out, but no word said of religion either of the Persians, or of the Jews. As in the case of Ruth, so in Esther, we have the intermarrying of the Jews with another people, and no word of disapproval of the practice.[1]

Jonah

A third story of the Old Testament is Jonah, which tells of the sending of Jonah, the son of Amittai to Nineveh "to cry against it" because of its wickedness. Like the stories about Elijah and Elisha in the histori-

[1] See above, p. 158.

cal books, Jonah is a story about a prophet rather than the book of a prophet.

The book begins, as do other prophets, with the statement "the word of the Lord came," but this is the only instance in which a prophet of Jehovah was commissioned to go to a Gentile city to preach; although there are instances in which a prophet of Jehovah was consulted by a foreigner, as was Elisha by Naaman, II Kings, ch. 5. Jonah is mentioned in only one other place in the Old Testament. The passage is:—

"He [Jeroboam] restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the sea of Arabah, according to the word of Jehovah, the God of Israel, which he spake by his servant Jonah the son of Amittai, the prophet, who was of Gath-hepher." II Kings 14:25.

In the New Testament, he is mentioned in words of warning addressed by Jesus to the Scribes and Pharisees:—

"For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation." Luke 11:30.

"An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet: for as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." Matthew 12:39–40.

These references to Jonah indicate, when taken together, that the book of Jonah was not regarded as a mere parable, just as the mention of Job by Ezekiel, 14:14,20, and by James, 5:11, indicates that he was regarded as a real person, and not simply as the in-

vention of a story-teller's or poet's mind. Jonah the prophet is referred to also in Tobit 14:4.

The book is the story of a man who set up his will against what he knew to be the will of God. He tried to evade his duty by taking a ship for Tarshish (Spain) when bidden by Jehovah to go, in the other direction, to Nineveh. His conscience troubled him and he knew that the storm which arose and endangered the ship was on his account. In spite of their own peril and Jonah's request that they cast him into the sea, and thus remove the cause of the storm, the mariners, heathen though they were, exerted themselves to the utmost to save the life of Jonah, as well as their own. Finding their efforts of no avail they pray to Jehovah, Jonah's God, not theirs, to lay not upon them innocent blood, and they cast Jonah into the sea. We then see the ship on a calm water, and these mariners now offering a sacrifice to Jehovah and making vows for their deliverance. From the belly of the great fish that had swallowed him, Jonah, repentant, prays for forgiveness, and he too promises sacrifice and vows. 2:9.

A second time comes the word of the Lord to Jonah– "Arise go unto Nineveh" and preach. He goes, and as he preaches, the people of Nineveh believe God and repent. God accepts their repentance, and because of it "repented of the evil which he said he would do unto them; and he did it not." 3:10.

The third and last part of the story deals with the relation of the will of Jonah to the will of Jehovah, and shows how tender and merciful Jehovah is to his rebellious children, as compared with Jonah. Man is narrow and vindictive, but God's mercy is all-embracing. Jonah is angry because God had forgiven the Ninevites,

instead of destroying them, but Jehovah had a rebuke for Jonah, who seemed unable to grasp the idea that the people of Nineveh, even though they were not Jews were the objects of the loving care and tender mercy of Jehovah.

The sailors were heathen, and the Ninevites were heathen. They worshipped other gods than Jehovah. Jonah had announced to the sailors:—

"I am a Hebrew; and I fear Jehovah, the God of heaven, who hath made the sea and the dry land." Jonah 1:9.

The heathen sailors worship Jehovah when the storm ceases, and the heathen Ninevites turn from their evil way and repent, but Jonah, who would have viewed with pleasure the destruction of Nineveh and its inhabitants, including innocent children, "that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand" is angry and wants to die, because the gourd had withered, and in consequence he had no shelter from the sun and wind:—

"Thou hast had regard for the gourd, for which thou hast not labored, neither madest it grow; . . . and should not I have regard for Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" Jonah 4:10, 11.

Jehovah's merciful lovingkindness is shown in the pictures here given of heathen, who, when they hear of him "turn from their evil way" and reverently worship. The Gentiles too came within the provisions of Jehovah's love.

Tobit

In the Apocrypha is Tobit, a story of family life, with its varying incidents, including a quarrel between Tobit and his wife. A second family story, that of Sarah, a relative of Tobit, is introduced. She has been accused by her maids of having strangled her seven husbands, each of whom had in reality been slain by an evil spirit, Asmodæus. Both Tobit, who had become blind, and Sarah pray for death. It is Jehovah's plan that the two families shall be united by the marriage of Sarah and Tobias, the son of Tobit. Tobias is sent on a journey to Media to collect a debt, and his guide is the angel Raphael, who appears as Azarias. The speech of fatherly advice of Tobit, ch. 4, is a specimen of wisdom literature. We are made to see the young Tobias and his guide Azarias as they set out on their journey:—

"And they both went forth to depart, and the young man's dog with them. But Anna his mother wept, and said to Tobit, Why hast thou sent away our child? is he not the staff of our hand, in going in and out before us? Be not greedy to add money to money: but let it be as refuse in respect of our child." Tobit 5:16–18.

On their return journey also, we are told, "and the dog went after them." The dog is not otherwise mentioned.

When Tobias bathes in the river a fish leaps out at him, which the angel guide tells him to hold and cut open. With the heart, liver and gall of the fish, burned so as to make a smoke, Tobias was able, as he had been told by the angel, to drive away the evil spirit Asmodæus, who would have slain him, as he had slain the seven husbands of Sarah. Azarias, the angel, went with a servant and collected the debt for which Tobias

had been sent, while the latter was spending the fourteen days of the wedding feast with his wife and her parents.

When they returned to Nineveh, the home of Tobit, Tobias, by direction of the angel, anoints his father's eyes, with the gall of the fish, and the film which had blinded him falls away, and his sight is restored. Not until this reunion of the family, and the restoration of Tobit's sight, is the identity of Azarias revealed. He is "Raphael, one of the seven holy angels," 12:15. Tobit closes with a thanksgiving to God, spoken by Raphael to Tobit and Tobias, a prayer of rejoicing of Tobit, a farewell of Tobit to his son and the six sons of his son, predicting the destruction of Nineveh as foretold by "Jonah the prophet," 14:4, and the restoration of Jerusalem in glory.

Judith

The story of Judith, found, like Tobit, in the Apocrypha, is one of heroic adventure on the part of a devout Jewess of great beauty, who, risking her own life on behalf of her people, goes with her maid to the camp of the Assyrians, representing herself as willing to reveal to them a way by which they may obtain possession of the land without loss of men. Her beauty, and her proposal to betray her countrymen, gain for her immediate access to the tent of Holofernes, the commander of the enemy. He is captivated by her and promises that no harm shall come to her. She tells him that her race:—

"shall not be punished, neither shall the sword prevail against them, except they sin against their God." Judith 11:10.

She tells him further, that owing to the failure of their victuals and water, in consequence of the siege, the Israelites would soon commit sin by eating:—

"things, which God charged them by his laws that they should not eat." Judith 11:12.

As it would be fatal to the Assyrians to attack the Israelites before they had committed this sin, Judith declares that she must have her own special food, and that she must go forth at night for prayer to Jehovah, who will tell her "when they have committed their sins." For three nights she went forth into the valley of Bethulia to pray, orders having been given not to stop her. The guards, who became accustomed to seeing her go in and out of the camp at night, suspected nothing. On the fourth night, when Holofernes was pleased more than ever with the beauty of Judith, and, at a feast:—

"drank exceeding much wine, more than he had drunk at any time in one day since he was born." Judith 12:20.

her opportunity came. She arranged to go forth to prayer at night as she had done before. Holofernes lay overpowered with wine. She took his scimitar, and, with a prayer to God for strength, cut off his head, which she gave to her maid, who put it into the bag in which they were accustomed to carry their special victuals. Through the camp they went, and back to the gate of Bethulia with the head of Israel's foe. The Israelites saw in Judith the instrument of God. The Assyrians fled in terror and dismay. The story ends with the thanksgiving poem of Judith, which recalls the song of Deborah, and the story of Jael and Sisera.

As in Esther, the author had a difficult plot to handle. How was the beautiful Judith to save herself, to slay Holofernes, and, at the same time, to preserve freedom of movement through the camp for herself and her maid, and thus access to her own people of Bethulia? It looked impossible to do all these things, and yet they were accomplished with perfect ease by her courage and her woman's wit.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PSALMS

The Book of Psalms is a collection of ancient religious poetry of various kinds, and by various authors, which was made by the selection, or the survival, of poems from a number of still earlier collections. It seems altogether probable, from the information about the music given in the prefatory inscriptions to many of the Psalms, that the book as we have it was used in connection with the services of the second Temple.[1] Apart, however, from any liturgical use, the hymns were undoubtedly popular among the people and sung by them. The Songs of Ascents, or Degrees, Psalms 120–134, may be pilgrim psalms that came into existence in connection with the annual journeys to Jerusalem.

No poetry ever written has been read, and studied, and sung by more people than the Hebrew Psalms, and this is true, because they express, better than any other poetry, the feeling of the devout soul towards God. Art and literature the Greeks produced of superlative excellence, but not religion. Attention has often been called to the fact that when the Jews as a people were monotheists and profoundly spiritual, the Greeks were polytheists. See Acts 17:22–34. Nowhere, except perhaps in a few of the utterances of the philosophers,

[1] The Temple of Solomon was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, II Kings 25:9, II Chronicles 36:19. A second Temple was built after the captivity, Ezra 6:15. It was rebuilt by Herod the Great about 20 B. C. The Temple of Herod was destroyed by the Romans in 70 A. D.

especially of Socrates, does the ancient Greek approach the dignity and grandeur of the Hebrew's conception of God. Much we owe to the Greeks, but not our conception of God. It is the spirituality of the Psalms that is their most notable characteristic. The Jew saw clearly that happiness had a spiritual and not a material source, and that the eternal good is spiritual.

Here are expressions concerning the Psalms from two different types of men, each of whom finds the secret of their power in their deep sincerity, and in their perfect expression of the religious emotions common to humanity. Dean Milman wrote:—

They have embodied so exquisitely the universal language of religious emotion, that (a few fierce and vindictive passages excepted, natural in the warrior poet of a sterner age) they have entered, with unquestioned propriety, into the ritual of the holier and more perfect religion of Christ. The Songs which cheered the solitude of the desert caves of Engedi, or resounded from the voice of the Hebrew people, as they wound along the glens or the hill-sides of Judea, have been repeated for ages in almost every part of the habitable world, in the remotest islands of the ocean, among the forests of America, or the sands of Africa. How many human hearts have they softened, purified, exalted! Of how many wretched beings have they been the secret consolation!" [1]

Carlyle said of the Psalms of David:—

"On the whole, we make too much of faults. Faults? The greatest of faults, I should say, is to be conscious of none. Readers of the Bible, above all, one would think, might know better. Who is called there 'the man according to God's own heart'? David, the Hebrew King, had fallen into sins enough; blackest crimes, there was no want of sins.

[1] H. H. Milman, *The History of the Jews*, New York, 1871, vol. 1, p. 353.

And therefore the unbelievers sneer and ask, 'Is this your man according to God's own heart?' The sneer, I must say, seems to me but a shallow one."

"David's life and history, as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest men will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul toward what is good and best. Struggle often baffled, sore baffled, down as into entire wreck; yet a struggle never ended; ever, with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose, begun anew. Poor human nature! Is not a man's walking, in truth, always that: 'a succession of falls'? Man can do no other. In this wild element of Life, he has to struggle onward; now fallen, deep abased; and ever with tears, repentance, with bleeding heart, he has to rise again, struggle again still onward. That his struggle be a faithful, unconquerable one: that is the question of questions. We will put up with many sad details, if the soul of it were true. Details by themselves will never teach us what it is." [1]

The Book of Psalms in Hebrew is in five parts.[2] This fact was usually ignored in the printing of English Versions until the Revision of 1881–5, when the divisions were marked.[3] An examination of the contents shows that each division ends with a doxology, but that the doxologies at the close of Psalms 72 and 106 are appropriate parts of these poems, while the doxologies at the close of Psalms 41 and 89 are not, hence it has been concluded by many scholars that the fivefold division was made in imitation of the Pentateuch, as rabbinical

[1] *Heroes and Hero Worship*, "The Hero as Prophet."

[2] I 1–41, II 42–72, III 73–89, IV 90–106, V 107–150.

[3] The divisions of the books of Psalms and the differences between poetry and prose, as to form, were indicated in some special editions of the Bible, and in various translations by individual scholars, but not in the editions that were in general use.

tradition asserts, and that the natural division is into three parts, 1–41, 42–89, 90–150.

The *first* of the three divisions consists of poems attributed to David. A further examination of the collection will show that Psalms 51–72, a group attributed almost entirely to David appears to have been inserted between two parts of a collection by Asaph, Psalms 50–73–83, which follows immediately the collection of Korahite, Psalms 42–49. If Psalms 51–72 are placed before Psalm 42, we have the *second* collection of the Psalms, consisting of I David, II Korahite, III Asaph, *plus* a miscellaneous supplementary collection, 84–89; comprising poems of the Sons of Korah, David, Heman and Ethan, and the note, 72:20, "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," appears appropriately at the end of the group bearing his name. It has no meaning where it now occurs.[1]

The *third* collection contains the chorals or liturgical hymns; the Egyptian Hallel, 113–118; the Songs of Ascents, 120–134; a poem, the greatness of Jehovah and the impotence of idols, 135; the Great Hallel, 136;[2] a poem of the exiles in Babylon, 137; two small groups attributed to David, 108–110 and 138–145, of which 108 is made up of 57:7–11 and 60:5–12, combined, perhaps for some liturgical purpose. There are no musical directions prefixed to any of the Psalms in the third collection (books IV and V) although three, 109, 139, 140, ascribed to David, are "For the chief musician." There are a number of musical directions found in the first two collections, 1–89.

That the Psalms have been edited and do not always

[1] For a discussion of this see S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 372–373.

[2] Jewish authorities do not agree as to the Great Hallel. Some say it is Psalm 136; some, Psalms 120–136; some, Psalms 135:4–136.

appear in our collection in their original form is shown by the appearance of different versions of the same Psalm, in which, owing probably to the custom of a later time, the name Jehovah has been changed, in the Hebrew, by the compiler, to Elohim. This will explain to the reader of the English translations, the differences between the two versions of the same Psalm that appear as 14 and 53. In the Revised Version we read:—

"The Lord looked down from heaven." Psalm 14:2.
"God looked down from heaven." Psalm 53:2.

In the American Revised Version we read:—

"Jehovah looked down from heaven." Psalm 14:2.
"God looked down from heaven." Psalm 53:2.

This and other differences between the two versions of the Psalms as shown in the translation are due to differences in the Hebrew versions. This is true also of Psalm 70 which is simply verses 13–17 of Psalm 40, the differences appearing in the English translation.

That choral singing was a part of Hebrew worship, even before the formal services of the Tabernacle had been arranged, we know from the account, Exodus, ch. 15, of the Song of Moses and the children of Israel, in thanksgiving for the overthrow of Pharaoh's hosts. In Judges, ch. 5, we have the Song of Deborah and Barak, praising Jehovah for the victory over the Canaanites. These songs are both of them described as antiphonal, one singer or group of singers answering another. There was evidently much singing not connected with worship. We read:—

"And it came to pass as they came, when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing to meet king Saul, with timbrels, with joy, and with instruments of music. And the women sang one to another as they played and said,

"'Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.'" I Samuel 18:6–7.

In Deuteromomy, ch. 32, we have a song taught to Israel by Moses and Hoshea, evidently antiphonally. In Genesis 4:23–24, we have Lamech's Song of the Sword, and in Numbers 21:17–18, the Song of the Well, sung by Israel. Other examples of songs are Luke 1:46–55, the Magnificat; Luke 1:68–80, the Song of Zacharias; Luke 2:13, the Song of the Angels; Luke 2:29, the Song of Simeon; and the songs in Revelation 5:9, 12, 13; 15:3; 19:1–8. That the sacred songs of Israel were known throughout the surrounding peoples is a reasonable inference from Psalm 137:3, where the Babylonian captors ask the Jews to sing "one of the songs of Zion."

Public ceremonial in the form of an antiphonal ritual appears early in the history of Israel, and in Deuteronomy 27:15–26 are found the words of such a ritual. The Levites, appointed, in Numbers 1:50, general custodians of the Tabernacle and all its furniture, are, in I Chronicles 23:30, spoken of as having among their duties that of offering praise and thanksgiving to Jehovah every morning and evening. We are told that:—

"He [David] appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark of Jehovah, and to celebrate and to thank and praise Jehovah, the God of Israel." I Chronicles 16:4.

We are told also, I Chronicles 16:41, 42, that Heman, Jeduthan and others were chosen to give thanks to Jehovah with "instruments for the songs of God," "because his lovingkindness *endureth* forever," a formula which occurs in Psalms 107, 118, 136 and in II Chronicles 20:21. There are many other references to singing, both as a part of formal worship, and as a custom of the people.

David appointed certain of the sons of Asaph, of Heman, and of Jeduthan "to prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals," and twenty-four groups of singers to perform the musical part of the service of the Temple for which he had made the preparations, but which Solomon his son was to build. I Chronicles, ch. 25. At the dedication of the Temple the Levites, "with instruments of music of Jehovah, which David the king had made to give thanks unto Jehovah . . . when David praised by their ministry," II Chronicles 7:6, performed as David had arranged. Much later, in the reign of Hezekiah, we read of the Levites as singing praises to Jehovah "with the words of David and of Asaph the seer," II Chronicles 29:30, and later still, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, Ezra 3:10, Nehemiah 12:36–46, David and Asaph are mentioned as having established the musical services.[1]

That David was a famous musician we are told in I Samuel 16:18, where he is spoken of as a skilful player on the harp, and in Amos 6:5, where he is said to have invented "instruments of music." In the "last

[1] "If the Temple psalmody was organized in the age of David and Solomon as the Chronicler represents, the absence of all allusion to it in the descriptions of sacred ceremonies in Samuel–Kings is very singular. II Samuel 6:5, I Kings 1:40 speak of the *people* singing, but not of the authorized 'singers' so frequently mentioned in Ezra–Nehemiah–Chronicles." *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, S. R. Driver, p. 379.

words of David," II Samuel, ch. 23, he is called "the sweet psalmist of Israel," and the same book records three other poems of David, two of them secular, one the beautiful Song of the Bow, 1:19–27, a lament for Saul and Jonathan; another a lament for Abner, 3:33–34; and the third, ch. 22, a song of rejoicing which appears, Psalm 18, in a different version. A poem composed of parts of three other Psalms now in the Book of Psalms 105:1–15, 96:1–13, 106:1, 47, 48, is given in I Chronicles 16:7–36, as the words in which David "by the hand of Asaph and his brethren" gave thanks to Jehovah.

The position of David as a poet, in the minds of the people, is clearly indicated by these references in the historical books. We are told of Solomon that he wrote a thousand and five songs, I Kings 4:32, and we can readily believe of David that he too may have written much poetry that has not been preserved, and also that poems have been attributed to him in later times, of which he was not the author. What seems certain is that a collection of poems, bearing the name of David, once existed, and that in it were preserved the Psalms attributed to him, if not by him, in the book of Psalms. There seem to have been also collections bearing other names, or titles, such as the "Songs of Asaph" and the "Songs of the Sons of Korah," who, like Asaph, were specially appointed by David to service in the Temple, I Chronicles 26:1. There may have been collections of poems by various authors among which were preserved the writings of Ethan, Psalm 89, and writings attributed to Moses, other than those in the Pentateuch, such as Psalm 90. Two books, evidently collections, are mentioned, the Book of Jashar, as the source of Joshua's command to the sun and moon, Joshua 10:12, 13, and David's Song

of the Bow, II Samuel 1:17–27, and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, as containing the lines about the Arnon, Numbers 21:14.[1]

The Book of Psalms, as usually divided, contains one hundred and fifty poems. A comparison of the King James or the Revised Versions with the Rheims-Douay Version will show that, while each contains one hundred and fifty poems, they do not divide them in the same way. This, like other differences between these Versions, is due to their being translations of different texts. Psalms 9 and 10, an imperfect acrostic, are united in the Vulgate, and, of course, in the Rheims-Douay version, which follows it. The Septuagint also unites them, but the Hebrew does not. Psalm 116 is, in the vulgate and Septuagint, divided into two, numbered 114 and 115, and this is so in the Rheims-Douay Version. Psalms 114 and 115 appear in the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the Rheims-Douay Version as Psalm 113 with Verses numbered as two Psalms 1–8, 1–18. Similarly, Psalm 147 is given in the Vulgate and Septuagint as two, being divided into Psalms 146 (verses 1–11), and 147 (verses 12–20), and in this way it appears in the Rheims-Douay Version, the two being numbered by verses consecutively as one poem. Psalms 42 and 43, which, in structure and thought, are parts of the same poem, are, however, divided in the Hebrew (though some manu-

[1] Other examples of poems preserved probably in collections, and thence transferred to their present settings, are found in Genesis 4:23–24, Genesis 9:25–27, Genesis 25:23, Genesis 27:27–29, 39–40, Genesis 49:2–27, Exodus 15:1–18, 21, Numbers 21:14–18, 27–30, Numbers 23:7–10, 18–24, Numbers 24:3–9, 15–24, Deuteronomy 32:1–43, Deuteronomy 33:2–29, Judges 5:2–31, Judges 15:16, I Samuel 2:1–10, II Samuel 3:33, 34, II Samuel 22:2–51 (see Psalm 18), II Samuel 23:1–7, I Chronicles 16:8–36, Isaiah 38:10–20, Jonah 2:2–9, Habakkuk 3:2–19, Luke 1:46–55, Luke 1:68–79, Luke 2:14, Luke 2:29–32. This is poetry, in addition to the poetic books of the prophets, Psalms, Job, the Song of Solomon, and Lamentations, and to the distinct poems included in Proverbs.

scripts unite them), Vulgate and Septuagint texts. The Revised Versions indicate by the spacing, between verses 5 and 6 of Psalm 42, and between Psalms 42 and 43, that we have three stanzas, or strophes, of one poem, each closing with the refrain "Why art thou cast down O my soul?" The same arrangement in the printing calls the reader's attention to the fact that there are distinct divisions of poems as in Psalms 19, 24, 27, 28, 32, 46, 50, 57, 60, and others.

The titles and inscriptions, really editorial notes prefixed to the various Psalms, are ancient, and represent tradition, or the opinions of the editors, or compilers. These titles and inscriptions vary in different ancient versions. The Hebrew text gives us information as follows in regard to the authors of the Psalms:—

Books	I	II	III	IV	V	
David.	37	18	1	2	15	73
Sons of Korah. (including Heman)		7	4			11
Asaph.		1	11			12
Solomon.		1			1	2
Ethan.			1			1
Moses.				1		1
Anonymous.	4	4	0	14	28	50
	41	31	17	17	44	150

The Septuagint ascribes also to David, Psalms 33, 43, 67, 91, 93–99, 104, making eighty-five attributed to David. Psalms 138, 146, 147, divided into two (vs 1–11, 12–20), and 148, have the names of Haggai and

Zechariah attached to them in the Septuagint, while 137 has the name of Jeremiah. In the Vulgate, Psalm 137 (136) is attributed to Jeremiah and 146 (145) to Haggai and Zechariah. Psalm 144 (143) is by Septuagint and Vulgate said to be "against Goliath." Of the Psalms attributed to David, 25, 34, 37, 145 are alphabetic acrostic poems.[1] Psalms 111, 112 and 119 are acrostics, as are the first four chapters of Lamentations,[2] and Proverbs 31:10–31, while, as has been stated, Psalms 9 and 10 together form an imperfect acrostic. There are traces of acrostic structure in Nahum 1: 2–10, and probably the original form of Ecclesiasticus 51:13–30 was acrostic.

In the Septuagint is a Psalm appended to the collection:—

Psalm 151 (Septuagint)

"*A Psalm in the handwriting of David beyond the number of the Psalms, composed by David when he fought in single combat with Goliath.*"

1. "I was little among my brethren, and the youngest in my father's house; and I kept also my father's sheep. 2. My hands made the organ; and my fingers jointed the psaltery. 3. And who will announce it to my Lord? He is the Lord, he himself gives ear. 4. He sent his angel and took me from my father's sheep, and anointed me with the oil of his anointing. 5. My brethren were comely and tall, nevertheless the Lord delighted not in them. 6. I went out to meet the foreigner, and he cursed me by his idols. 7. (In the strength of the Lord I cast three stones at him. I smote him in the forehead, and felled him to the earth. *Arab.*) 8. And I drew out

[1] In acrostic or alphabetic poems each verse or group of verses begins with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet in order. As there are twenty-two letters, the number of verses is twenty-two or a multiple of twenty-two, Psalm 119 having eight verses to each letter.

[2] Lamentations 5 has 22 verses, but is not an acrostic.

his own sword from his side, and cut off his head, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel."

This Psalm and the inscription in the Septuagint and Vulgate to Psalm 144 (143), "against Goliath," indicate a feeling that David must have written a poem about that famous combat, as he did about other happenings in his life, as for example, Psalm 3 "when he fled from Absalom his son"; Psalm 34, "when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech;" Psalm 51, "when Nathan the prophet came unto him;" Psalms 52, 54, 56, 57, and others, although the accuracy of these inscriptions is questioned by scholars.

It is possible in many instances to interpret a Psalm as being either a personal, or a national lyric. Such a poem as Psalm 23 might be spoken by an individual, or it might be the utterance of the whole nation. Several, however, are peculiarly national in character, rehearsing as they do the history of Israel, for the purpose of impressing on the minds of the people their shortcomings, and, in contrast to them, the continual loving-kindness of God. Such are Psalms 78, 81, 105, 106, 114.

Some Psalms have reference specifically to the king, and among them are those which are believed by Christians to be Messianic, and to contain allusions to the coming Christ. In primary meaning, they may be applicable to the affairs of the kingdom of Israel. Such are Psalms 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 61, 63, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132. Other Psalms speak of the greatness, goodness and mercy of God, and the sinfulness of man. They are meditations on God's government of individuals, and of the universe. Some are purely personal lyrics of faith, hope, joy, thanksgiving, or prayers for help in trouble, or for forgiveness. Still others are inspired by

the sight of nature as Psalms 8 and 19, the glory of the heavens; Psalm 29, a thunderstorm passing over the mountains about Jerusalem; or Psalm 65, a song of joy for the harvest. Two of the poems, 84 and 137, have reference to exile, and express the longing for the worship of the Temple from which the authors are far away. Psalm 136 is the Great Hallel.[1] It is national in character, and, in the form of a splendid choral, rehearses the history of Israel.

Two groups of Psalms are, 113–118, the Egyptian Hallel, and, 120–134, the Songs of Ascents. The first group are sung in connection with the celebration of the Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, at the Festival of the Dedication, and at the New Moons, except of the New Year. It was probably the "hymn" sung by Christ and his disciples at the institution of the Lord's Supper, the evening before the Crucifixion, Matthew 26: 30, Mark 14:26. The poems of the second group, it has been conjectured, are associated with the annual journeys to Jerusalem "whither the tribes go up." While some of these Psalms are appropriate for the pilgrimages and deal with the incidents of such journeys, there are others which seem general and to have no such particular application.[2] They are all, however, placed in a single category by the compiler of Psalms.

To David are ascribed, in the Hebrew, Psalms 122,

[1] See above, p. 183, note. In the English translation of this Psalm we have an instance of the differences between the Revised Version and the American Revised Version, in which the substitution of "Jehovah" for "the Lord" and "lovingkindness" for "mercy," in the latter, for the sake of consistency in translation, has marred the beautiful rhythm of the King James Version. The English revisers were wise enough to preserve it. This illustrates one of the difficulties in the way of translators.

[2] Other explanations of the title "Songs of Ascents" or "Songs of Degrees" suggest that it refers to the steps of the second Temple on which the Songs might have been sung, or that it refers to the return of the exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, or that it refers to the peculiar structure of the poems.

124, 131, 133, and to Solomon, Psalm 127. In the Septuagint the Songs of Ascents are anonymous, while in the Vulgate and, following it, the Rheims-Douay Version, Psalm 126 (127), is ascribed to Solomon and 130 (131) and 132 (133) to David.

The literary form of Biblical poetry is in some respects almost wholly obscured by the way in which it is printed, even in the Revised Versions, which indicate only the separate lines of each poem. Consider the difficulty of reading Shakespeare intelligently if the divisions of acts and scenes, and the names of the characters were not indicated. It has been thought permissible, in the English versions commonly used, to supply, in italics, words not in the original, but necessary, or desirable, to make the meaning clear. It would seem to be equally desirable to indicate to the eye, by the manner of printing, not only the lines, but also the changes of speaker found in many passages in Biblical poetry, but this has not been done in the Revised Versions.[1] Changes in the person of pronouns in the Psalms frequently indicate change of speaker, but the average reader often does not notice this. The use of two or more speakers gives a poem a dramatic quality. In the songs and chorals, such as Psalms 20, 21, 60, and 108, we have war songs, probably in the form of solo and chorus. When attention is called to it, the dramatic structure of many of the poems is evident.

An example of dramatic structure is Psalm 2, in which there are perhaps four different speakers, the Poet, the Kings, Jehovah, and the anointed King. There are also the following scenes—a mustering of

[1] Special Editions give the necessary literary arrangement to the books of the Bible. The translation of *The Holy Scriptures* issued by the Jewish Publication Society, makes use of quotation marks to indicate changes of speaker, as in Psalm 2.

rebellious nations, a council of Kings, Heaven, where Jehovah is seated on his throne, the hill of Zion, where the King sits enthroned, and from which he tells of the decree. The poem must be arranged in some such manner as this to show the structure:—

Psalm 2

The Poet

"Why do the nations rage,
And the peoples meditate a vain thing?
The kings of the earth set themselves,
And the rulers take counsel together,
Against Jehovah, and against his anointed."

The Kings

"Let us break their bonds asunder,
And cast away their cords from us."

The Poet

"He that sitteth in the heavens will laugh:
The Lord will have them in derision.
Then will he speak unto them in his wrath,
And vex them in his sore displeasure."

Jehovah

"Yet have I set my king
Upon my holy hill of Zion."

The Anointed King

"I will tell of the decree;
Jehovah said unto me, 'Thou art my son;
This day have I begotten thee.

Ask of me and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance,
And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.
Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron;
Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.'"

The Poet

"Now therefore be wise, O ye kings:
Be instructed ye judges of the earth.
Serve Jehovah with fear,
And rejoice with trembling.
Kiss the son lest he be angry, and ye perish in the way,
For his wrath will soon be kindled.
Blessed are all they that take refuge in him."

Other examples of dramatic structure are found in Psalm 45, in which the poet, after several lines about himself, addresses, first the king, verses 2–9, and then the queen, verses 10–17; and in Psalm 91, in which there are two scenes. In the first scene are two men, one of whom is telling the other of Jehovah's care of those who trust in him, verses 1–13; in the second we have Jehovah speaking, or soliloquizing, having seen and heard the two men. It is obvious that there is a change of speaker at verse 14, because neither of the men could utter the words contained in the last three verses, 14–16. Jehovah alone could be the speaker:—

"Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him:
I will set him on high, because he hath known my name.
He shall call upon me, and I will answer him;
I will be with him in trouble:
I will deliver him, and honor him.
With long life will I satisfy him,
And show him my salvation."

In Psalm 32:8 we have a similar speech, which must be regarded as spoken by Jehovah:—

"I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go;
I will counsel thee with mine eye upon thee."

In Psalm 50 the change of speaker is a notable feature. The poet calls the peoples to hear what God has to say to them, verses 1–6, after which there are two speeches of God, one to those that have made a covenant by sacrifice, verses 7–15, the other to the wicked, verses 16–21, the poem closing with two verses summarizing the two speeches.

The inscription "For the chief Musician," and the musical directions concerning instruments, tunes and voices, which are prefixed to many psalms, indicate that they are, as we have them, adapted for singing.

The Psalms were in all probability sung at times by great gatherings of the people, as well as by the trained singers, and it must have been thrilling and inspiring to hear such a magnificent choral as Psalm 136, sung by the leader, with hundreds, or perhaps thousands of voices joining in the chorus:—

Solo. O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good:
Chorus. For his mercy *endureth* for ever.
Solo. O give thanks unto the God of gods:
Chorus. For his mercy *endureth* for ever.
Solo. O give thanks to the Lord of lords:
Chorus. For his mercy *endureth* for ever.
Solo. To him who alone doeth great wonders,
Chorus. For his mercy *endureth* for ever.

The Song of Deborah and Barak, Judges, ch. 5, we know to have been antiphonal, and the Song of Moses, Exodus, ch. 15, likewise:—

"Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Jehovah, and spake saying,

I will sing unto Jehovah, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

"And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam answered them,

Sing ye to Jehovah, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Other chorals arranged for solo and chorus are 34, an acrostic, 99, 118. Perhaps 33 was sung by the chorus and two semi-choruses; verses 1–3, and 20–22, being sung by the full chorus, and the two divisions, verses 4–11, and 12–19 each by a semi-chorus.[1] Many of the other chorals were probably simply antiphonals, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 113–118, 134, 135, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, the last being a doxology closing the Book of Psalms. It will be observed that these chorals are found in the third large division of the collection, 90–150, comprising books four and five. The only other distinctively choral Psalms are, 24, 30, and the two already mentioned 33, and 34, all of which are in the first book. Of these 30 has the inscription "A song at the Dedication of the House," and 24 has no inscription other than "A Psalm of David." Psalm 24 is believed to have been written for what was probably the greatest event in David's entire career, the day on which, having finally conquered Jerusalem, which had withstood attack for generations, thus rendering it impossible for the Jews to establish the center of their worship on Mount Zion where the Temple was to be

[1] See *The Modern Readers Bible*, ed. R. G. Moulton, New York, 1907, for the text arranged as so to show the literary structure.

built, he entered the city in triumph with the Ark of the Covenant.[1] To Jehovah all praise is due for the conquest, and in Jehovah's name the challenge to the warder at the gate is given. A passage in the historical books describing the event is:—

"And David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with joy." II Samuel 6:12.[2]

Singing the hymn of praise (verses 1–6), the procession arrives in front of the gates. The demand for admission is made, and the voice from the gate replies. "Jehovah of Hosts" is the title by which the conqueror is known. Not until that name is uttered are the gates opened.

Psalm 24

I. *Ascending the Hill*

The Question

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein.
For he hath founded it upon the seas,
And established it upon the floods.
Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?
And who shall stand in his holy place?"

The Reply

"He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart;
Who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity,
And hath not sworn deceitfully.
He shall receive a blessing from the Lord,

[1] For an interesting discussion of this, see *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, A. P. Stanley, London, 1890, vol. II, pp. 68–75.
[2] See also I Chronicles 15:25–16:3.

And righteousness from the God of his salvation.
This is the generation of them that seek after him,
That seek thy face, O *God* of Jacob."

II. *At the Gates*

The Demand

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
And be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors:
And the King of glory will come in."

The Reply

"Who is the King of glory?"

The Demand

" Jehovah strong and mighty,
Jehovah mighty in battle.
Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
Yea lift them up, ye everlasting doors:
And the King of glory will come in."

The Reply

"Who is this King of glory?"

The Demand

"Jehovah of Hosts,
He is the King of glory."
[*The gates open, and the procession enters.*]

CHAPTER IX

THE SONG OF SOLOMON

FIVE short books included in the sacred "Writings," or third collection, in the Hebrew Scriptures are known as the Five Rolls, or the Megilloth, one of which was read at each of five solemn celebrations by the Jews. They are the Song of Songs, read at the Passover, Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations on the 9th day of the month Ab, the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed, Ecclesiastes, (or Koheleth,) at the feast of Booths, and Esther at the feast of Purim,(the Lots). Passover, Pentecost and the feast of Booths are of Mosaic origin. The other two are later.

The interpretation of the Song of Songs, or the Song of Solomon, or the Canticles, as it is variously called, as an allegory setting forth the relation of God to his people, is the reason for the inclusion in the Scriptures of this beautiful Hebrew love-poetry. The fact that it is about Solomon, and is traditionally attributed to him as author, is likewise of importance in explaining its place in the Bible, for everything by, or concerning, David or Solomon was regarded as peculiarly sacred, as we have seen in considering the historical books.

There is a Jewish tradition, the reason for which is clear from their contents, that the three canonical books attributed to Solomon, the Song of Songs, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were written respectively, in his youth, in his mature years, and in his old age, but there is also another thought of the Jews concerning these

books that represents a quite different view of them. They thought them, considered as a whole, comparable to the Temple, Proverbs representing the outer court, Ecclesiastes the holy place, and the Song of Songs the holy of holies; while Origen and Theodoret of the early Christian Church likened them to a ladder with three steps, of which the lowest was Ecclesiastes, natural and vain things, Proverbs, moral, and the Song of Songs, mystical.

Psalm 45, which bears the title, "A Song of Loves," and is the only poem of its kind in the Bible, naturally comes to mind when the Song of Songs is considered, for the Psalm is composed of the words of the poet addressed to the king, and to the queen, on the occasion of a royal wedding, and is, like the Song, interpreted as having a secondary meaning, referring to the relation of God, or of Christ, to his people.

So far as the primary meaning is concerned, the lines of the Song of Solomon are in general quite clear, but differences of opinion exist as to the speakers to whom the various lines are to be assigned, hence the different arrangements of the book given by editors. That a secondary interpretation is not purely fanciful is clearly evidenced by the Oriental fondness for allegory and concealed meanings, and by passages, in both the Old Testament and the New, in which the relationship of God to his people is set forth in the figure of the bride and bridegroom. For example, Isaiah says, 62:5, "as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee," and in Revelation 21:9, we read, "I will show thee the bride, the wife of the Lamb," 22:17, "And the Spirit and the bride say, Come." See also Jeremiah, ch. 3, Ezekiel 16:8–14, and Ephesians 5:25–32. It is of course reasoning in a circle to say the Song

of Songs is a spiritual allegory, therefore it is in the Bible; the Song of Songs is in the Bible, therefore it is a spiritual allegory.

The Targum finds in it the whole history of Israel. Jews generally regard it as setting forth the relation of Jehovah to Israel. The early Christian Church, accepting the Jewish view that the Song of Songs was an allegory, believed it to refer to Christ and his Church. This is based on an interpretation of the principal characters as being only Solomon and his bride. According to a modern view, however, there is a third character of prime importance, the shepherd lover of the Shulamite bride, whom the older interpreters identified with Solomon in disguise. The recognition of the shepherd lover as a distinct person interferes seriously with the older allegorical interpretation of the poem. The modern interpretation finds an expression of the ethical or moral teaching that faithfulness to the true love of the shepherd lover is far better than yielding to the attractions of a king's wealth. Without either the allegorical or the ethical interpretation the Song of Songs, though wonderfully beautiful in its language and imagery, is purely sensuous.

This passionate love-poetry must always be thought of as written by an Oriental. The descriptions of feminine beauty are such as abound in Arabic poetry, and are by no means necessarily licentious, though to English readers, owing to their different traditions and forms of expression, they seem so. An example of this, which to the English reader seems simply sensuous, is the passage 6:13–7:5, in which the women ask the Shulamite to dance, which she does. They then express their admiration of her beauty as she dances. To the Oriental there was absolutely nothing in the lines ex-

cept pleasure in beholding a beautiful woman, the details of whose beauty are necessary to the picture. The dancing is perhaps of the kind referred to in Judges 21:20–21, where the Benjamites lie in wait in the vineyard for the purpose of catching wives from among the "daughters of Shiloh" if they "come out to dance in the dances."

The persons and imagery of the Song of Solomon are those of the Bible, the shepherd, the sheep, the vineyard, the mountains, the King's palace, etc. The bride, the Shulamite, as a country girl is described as "swarthy because the sun hath scorched" her. 1:5. The king, Solomon, is described in his magnificence. 3:6–11. When Bishop Lowth likened the Song of Solomon, as regards literary form, to the dramatic eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, he called attention specifically to the fact that it is not a drama. Many writers since his time have disregarded, or have not recognized, the distinction, and have called the book a drama. As, for much concerning the study of the Bible as literature, we turn for the beginning to Bishop Lowth's *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, so for the proper classification of this unique work, the Song of Solomon, we quote his words concerning some of the early critics:—"But if they make use of the term *dramatic* according to the common acceptation of the word, this poem must be supposed to contain a fable, or entire and perfect plot or action, of a moderate extent, in which the incidents are all connected, and proceed regularly from one another and which, after several vicissitudes, is brought to a perfect conclusion. But certainly the bare representation of a nuptial festival cannot in any respect answer to this definition. All this, however, bears no resemblance to a regular plot,

nor affords the piece any fairer title to the appellation of a perfect drama than the dramatic eclogues of Theocritus and Virgil, in which the loves, the amusements, and the emulations of shepherds are depicted, and which no critic has ever classed with the regular fables of Euripides and Terence." "There is, however, one circumstance in which this poem bears a very near affinity to the Greek drama—the chorus of virgins seems in every respect congenial to the tragic chorus of the Greeks. They are constantly present, and prepared to fulfil all the duties of advice and consolation; they converse frequently with the principal characters; they are questioned by them, and they return answers to their inquiries: they take part in the whole business of the poem; and I do not find that, upon any occasion, they quit the scene. Some of the learned have conjectured that Theocritus, who was contemporary with the Seventy Greek translators of the Scriptures, and lived with them in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was not unacquainted with the beauties of this poem, and that he has almost literally introduced some passages from it into his elegant Idyllium. (Compare *Cant.* 1:9, 6:10, with Theoc. 18:30, 26. *Cant.* 4:11 with Theoc. 20:26. *Cant.* 8:6, 7, with *Theoc.* 23:23–26.)"[1]

Bishop Lowth's comparison of the Song of Solomon to the Idyls of Theocritus brings to mind the fact that Ruth and Esther and some of the other Bible stories are also by modern editors called idyls. They are, however, prose narrations, while the Song is intensely lyric, emotional, passionate. If "idyl" is used of short stories, in prose or verse, which have, as did the "idyls" of Theocritus, a distinctly pastoral character, then the story of Esther is not an idyl, and the term is, in that

[1] Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, pp. 337–8.

and other instances, misused. It is used, however, somewhat loosely, to include such different books as Ruth, Esther, and Tobit, as well as the Song of Solomon, and such narratives as those of Isaac and Rebekah, Genesis, ch. 24, Samson and the Woman of Timnah, Judges, ch. 14, Samson and Delilah, Judges, ch. 16.

With regard to the meaning of the Song of Solomon critics by no means agree, and this is true of the primary meaning, as well as of any secondary interpretation it may bear. It makes a much more dramatic situation, as well as, probably, a more reasonable one, to accept the existence of the rustic lover as a successful rival of the king for the affections of the beautiful Shulamite, rather than to suppose him to have been King Solomon in disguise. The fact that the closing scene occurred, not at the palace of Solomon, but at the native village of the bride, is very strong evidence of the correctness of this view of the poem. The riddles in the last scene remind us of the marriage feast and riddles of Samson in Judges 14:10–20. As Professor Driver says:—"Upon the modern view, the idea of the poem, the triumph of plighted lover over the seductions of wordly magnificence, is one of real ethical value . . . . It is to be noted also that the admiration expressed in the poem is not (on either side) evoked by graces of character, but solely by the contemplation of physical beauty: and it is only relieved from being purely sensuous by the introduction of an ethical motive, such as is supplied by the modern view, giving it a purpose and an aim."[1]

M. Bossuet in his commentary[2] recalling the fact that solemn rites, including marriage festivities, among

[1] See S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 445.

[2] J. B. Bossuet, *Præf, & Comment. in Cant. Œuvres*, vol. 1, pp. 463–500, Paris, 1748.

the Hebrews covered seven days, finds in the poem clear indication of the seven-day period such as is mentioned in Judges 14:12 where Samson asks to have his riddle declared "within the seven days of the feast," and in Tobit 11:19, the "wedding feast was kept seven days with great gladness." The seven days of Bossuet correspond nearly to the seven idyls into which Professor Moulton divides the Song.[1] The two divisions are as follows:—

Bossuet's Seven Days	*Moulton's Seven Idyls*
1. 1:1–2:6.	1. 1:1–2:7.
2. 2:7–17.	2. 2:8–3:5.
3. 3:1–5:1.	3. 3:6–5:1.
4. 5:2–6:8.	4. 5:2–6:3.
5. 6:9–7:10.	5. 6:4–7:10.
6. 7:11–8:3.	6. 7:11–8:4.
7. 8:4–14.	7. 8:5–14.

The refrains, with which each division of the poem ends, are evidence of its artistic structure. The first two idyls close with the refrain:—

"I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem,
By the roes, or by the hinds of the field,
That ye stir not up, nor awake *my* love,
Until he please." 2:7 and 3:5.

The sixth idyl closes with the same refrain, 8:4, omitting the second line, while the others close:—

3. "Eat O friends;
Drink, yea, drink abundantly,
O, beloved." 5:1.
4. "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine,

[1] R. G. Moulton, *Modern Readers' Bible.*

He feedeth *his flock* among the lilies." 6:3.
5. "I am my beloved's,
And his desire is toward me." 7:10.
7. "Make haste my beloved,
And be thou like to a roe or to a young hart,
Upon the mountains of spices." 8:14.

Dr. Ginsburg divides the book into five sections as follows:—[1]

1. The Shulamite in the royal tent. 1:2–2:7.
2. She tells the ladies of the court of her separation from her beloved. 2:8–3:5.
3. The entry of the royal procession into Jerusalem, followed by the shepherd, who proposes to rescue her. 3:6–5:1.
4. The Shulamite tells of her dream. The king's flattery fails. 5:2–8:4.
5. The return to her home. 8:5–14.

Others divide:—

1. The longings of love. 1:2–2:7.
2. The lovers find each other. 2:8–3:5.
3. The nuptials. 3:6–5:1.
4. Separation and reunion. 5:2–6:9.
5. Praise of the lovers. 6:10–8:4.
6. Confirmation of love and fidelity. 8:5–14.

Owing to changes of person in pronouns, and because of the meaning of the lines, we must assign them to different speakers, as must be done with some of the Psalms, and as is done in Job. We find the *dramatis personæ* to be probably:—

[1] C. D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, London, 1857.

Chorus of daughters of Jerusalem (or ladies of the court).
The Bride (The Shulamite).
The Bridegroom (Solomon).
Watchmen of the city. Keepers of the walls (in the dreams).
Citizens of Jerusalem.
The Shulamite's brothers.
A villager of Shulem.
Shepherds of Shulem.
The Shepherd lover.

The various scenes are represented as occurring at several different places, some of them actual, and others to be pictured by the imagination in connection with events described. The scenes are probably:—

1. The harem of Solomon. 1:2–2:7. The neighborhood of the Shulamite's home. 2:8–17 (memories). The streets of the city. 3:1–4 (a dream).
2. A gate of Jerusalem with a pageant approaching. 3:6–11.
3. The banquet hall of Solomon's palace. 4:1–16.
4. The harem of Solomon. 5:2–6:9. The streets of the city. 5:2–7 (a dream).
5. A nut grove. 6:10–8:4.
6. A valley near Shulem. 8:5–7.
7. The home of the Shulamite. 8:8–14.

A very significant fact in connection with the Song of Solomon is that in Syria to-day "the first seven days after a wedding are called 'the king's week,' the young pair play during this time king and queen; the 'threshing board' is turned into a mock throne, on which they are seated, while songs are sung before them by the villagers and others, celebrating them on their happiness, among which the *wasf*, or poetical

'description' of the physical beauty of the bride and bridegroom holds a prominent place."[1] On successive days other wedding-songs are sung, and it has been suggested that the Song of Solomon is a collection of such songs.

Origen and Jerome say that the Jews forbade the reading of the book by any person less than thirty years old on the ground that maturity of mind was essential to an understanding of the spiritual meaning.

[1] S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 452, quoting from an article on marriage customs by J. G. Wetzstein in Bastian's *Ztsch. f. Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270ff.

CHAPTER X

THE WISDOM BOOKS

PROVERBS and Ecclesiastes are both attributed to Solomon, the former being entitled the Proverbs of Solomon the son of David, King of Israel, and the latter the Words of Koheleth the son of David, King in Jerusalem. Koheleth is a proper name, which was in the Septuagint translated Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher. The word that we associate with Solomon is "wisdom."[2] Both Proverbs and Ecclesiastes are books of instruction in "wisdom." The "Preacher" applied his heart:—

"to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven." Ecclesiastes 1:13.

while the author of Proverbs begins by saying:—

"To know wisdom and instruction;
To discern the words of understanding." Proverbs 1:2.

Two books in the Apocrypha belong as literature in the same category, and they have for their titles the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus. To these four books must be added Job, the profoundest philosophical work of them all, and, like them, as chapter 11, chapter 28,

[2] David also had a reputation for wisdom as is stated in II Samuel 14: 17–20, 19:27.

and other passages indicate, a "wisdom" book, the record of the thoughts of deep thinkers concerning the problems by which man is confronted.

The wisdom books have been spoken of[1] as constituting a complete philosophy, for the understanding of which it is necessary to read them in a particular order, including in the series the two wisdom books of the Apocrypha, the order being, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of Solomon. The first two books consist chiefly of observations of life with little attempt at analysis or synthesis. The last two consist of the results of analysis leading in Ecclesiastes to the conclusion, from a consideration of this world alone, that "all is vanity and a striving after wind":—

"For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten." Ecclesiastes 9:5.

Man cannot understand the reasons for all that happens, but knows that God is omnipotent and also just:—

"*This is* the end of the matter; all hath been heard: Fear God and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man." Ecclesiastes 12:13.

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon with a clear belief in the immortality of the soul writes:—

"Because of her [Wisdom] I shall have immortality,
And leave behind an eternal memory to them that come after me." The Wisdom of Solomon 8:13.

[1] R. G. Moulton, *The Modern Readers' Bible*, pp. 1450–52.

and:—

"For to be acquainted with thee [God] is perfect righteousness,
And to know thy dominion is the root of immortality."
The Wisdom of Solomon 15:3.

which is strikingly similar to:—

"And this is life eternal that they might know thee the only true God." John 17:3.

These books differ from the writings of the prophets in the nature of the subjects discussed, and especially in the relation of the authors of the books to their subjects. The results of man's efforts to understand his relations to God, and to the world in which he lives, are found in such poetry as Psalms 104 and 139, and elsewhere in the Psalms. Records of a man's observations of life, and the conclusions he has drawn from them for his own information and guidance occur, for example:—

"I have been young and now am old;
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,
Nor his seed begging bread." Psalm 37:25.

or the following from a "wisdom" poem:—

"My mouth shall speak wisdom;
And the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding."
Psalm 49:3.

Biblical wisdom books are the representatives of what must have been an extensive literature, still other examples of which exist in Enoch, and other

Pseudepigrapha, to which we to-day would give the title philosophy. The wisdom literature was not only philosophical, but also probably specifically intended, in the form in which we have it, to be used for purposes of instruction.

To the wisdom class belong also the Epistle of James, and the books of "Sayings," of which the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest example, and of which the parables are also examples. These, like the book of Job, are concerned chiefly with spiritual matters. In common with other examples of wisdom literature, the Sermon on the Mount, and the other discourses of Jesus, in which the parables occur, were definitely "teachings."

It was, probably, in order to make what was said easy to remember, as a result of being impressive when heard, that the most direct expression was employed. The couplet, or simplest poetic form, was the usual, but not invariable vehicle, much of Ecclesiastes being in prose.[1] The wisdom literature is the formulation of the results not simply of abstract reasoning, but of actual experience and observation with the conclusions drawn from them. The prophet announces "Thus saith the Lord," but the philosopher, in his own person, and of his own knowledge speaks:—

"My son hear the instruction of thy father,
And forsake not the law of thy mother." Proverbs 1:8.
"My son, attend unto my wisdom;
Incline thine ear to my understanding." Proverbs 5:1.
"I have seen all the works that are done under the sun,

[1] *The Holy Bible*, an Improved Edition, American Baptist Publication Society, 1912, and *The Holy Scriptures*, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917, both indicate, by the arrangement of the lines, the poetical portions of Ecclesiastes. The Revised Versions print the book as though it were all prose.

and behold all is vanity and striving after wind." Ecclesiastes 1:14.

"Unto you therefore, O princes are my words,
That ye may learn wisdom and fall not from the right way." . . . "As I learned without guile, I impart without grudging;
I do not hide her riches." The Wisdom of Solomon 6:9, 7:13.

"Hear me your father, O my children,
And do thereafter that ye may be saved.
For the Lord hath given the father glory as touching the children,
And hath confirmed the judgment of the mother as touching the sons." Ecclesiasticus 3:1, 2.

Much of the instruction of the wisdom books is on subjects that are peculiarly of this world, and concerned very definitely with "the now and here." Some of the advice given seems, at first reading, to be based on a philosophy of expediency. Sin and wrongdoing do not pay. They do not lead to happiness here. The old man knows whereof he speaks. He has lived a long while, and he has seen all kinds of people, and all kinds of lives, but he has never seen a sinful life that could by any right-minded person be regarded as successful:—

"So are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain;
It taketh away the life of the owners thereof." Proverbs 1:19.

"For wisdom shall enter into thy heart,
And knowledge shall be pleasant unto thy soul;
Discretion shall watch over thee;
Understanding shall keep thee:
To deliver thee from the way of evil,

From men that speak perverse things; . . .
To deliver thee from the strange woman, . . .
For her house inclineth unto death, . . .
None that go unto her return again." Proverbs 2:10–19.

"My son, if thou art become surety for thy neighbor,
If thou hast stricken thy hands for a stranger;
Thou art snared with the words of thy mouth,
Thou art taken with the words of thy mouth." Proverbs 6:1–2.

"There are six things which Jehovah hateth;
Yea seven which are an abomination unto him:
Haughty eyes, a lying tongue,
And hands that shed innocent blood;
A heart that deviseth wicked purposes,
Feet that are swift in running to mischief,
A false witness that uttereth lies,
And he that soweth discord among brethren." Proverbs 6:16–19.

"Hear thou, my son, and be wise,
And guide thy heart in the way.
Be not among winebibbers,
Among gluttonous eaters of flesh:
For the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty;
And drowsiness will clothe a *man* with rags." Proverbs 23:19–21.

The tongue is particularly spoken of in many passages as one of the greatest of mischief-makers. This is the result of observation of the consequences following unwise or malicious words:—

"For lack of wood the fire goeth out;
And where there is no whisperer, contention ceaseth." Proverbs 26:20.

"Put away from thee a wayward mouth,
And perverse lips put far from thee." Proverbs 4:24.

"He that hideth hatred is of lying lips;
And he that uttereth a slander is a fool.
In the multitude of words there wanteth not transgression;
But he that refraineth his lips doeth wisely.
The tongue of the righteous is as choice silver:
The heart of the wicked is little worth." Proverbs 10: 18–20.

"A soft answer turneth away wrath;
But a grievous word stirreth up anger." Proverbs 15:1.

In Psalms we read this description of the man who shall sojourn in Jehovah's tabernacle:—

"He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness,
And speaketh truth in his heart;
He that slandereth not with his tongue,
Nor doeth evil to his friend." Psalm 15:2–3.

The repeated references to the tongue in Proverbs and other wisdom books remind us of the familiar passage in the New Testament, which expresses the opinions of wise men on that subject. James, which is a wisdom book, gives us the following:—

"So the tongue also is a little member, and boasteth great things. Behold, how much wood is kindled by how small a fire! And the tongue is a fire: the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue." James 3:5–6.

In Ecclesiastes we find the same ideas:—

"By slothfulness the roof sinketh in;
And through idleness of the hands the house leaketh.

A feast is made for laughter,
And wine maketh glad the life;
And money answereth all things.
Revile not the king, no, not in thy thought;
And revile not the rich in thy bed-chamber:
For a bird of the heavens shall carry the voice,
And that which hath wings shall tell the matter." Ecclesiastes 10:18–20.

"The words of a wise man's mouth are gracious;
But the lips of a fool will swallow up himself;
The beginning of the words of his mouth is foolishness;
And the end of his talk is mischievous madness." Ecclesiastes 10:12–13.

Of the trouble-maker we have a description which is vivid, and evidently the result of personal observation:—

"A worthless person, a man of iniquity,
Is he that walketh with a perverse mouth;
That winketh with his eyes,
That speaketh with his feet,
That maketh signs with his fingers;
In whose heart is perverseness,
Who deviseth evil continually,
Who soweth discord." Proverbs 6:12–14.

The sly wink impressed Solomon for he refers to it again:—

"He that winketh with the eye causeth sorrow;
But a prating fool shall fall." Proverbs 10:10.

And Ben Sirach writes:—

"One that winketh with the eye contriveth evil things;
And no man will remove him from it." Ecclesiasticus 27:22.

These are all matters concerning which the experience of years entitled the writer to give instruction. The whole range of possible sins, and evidences of unwisdom, particularly on the part of the young or inexperienced, is included in the wisdom books. Emphasis is laid on the lot in this world of the man that is dishonest, a liar, slanderous, unchaste, a drunkard, a glutton, or a loafer. A man that is any one of these things can look forward to shame, disease, and poverty as the result. The fact that sin displeases and virtue pleases Jehovah is, of course, repeatedly mentioned, but it seems that the chief thought in the teachings of the wisdom books is that sin will inevitably bring its own punishment, and righteousness its own reward, not in the world to come, about which the Old Testament has very little to say, but here, in this world, and in the person of the sinner:—

"Be sure your sin will find you out." Numbers 32:23.

Or, in the words of the New Testament:—

"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life." Galatians 6:7.

The Old Testament throughout, lays stress on a happy life here, the New Testament on a happy life hereafter. At the height of his greatness, when he was respected, and his advice sought by all, Job's blessings and happiness, including "the friendship of God," were definitely of this world. His perplexity was not unnatural, when, with no change in his conduct of which he was aware, he found himself afflicted and held in

derision. The effort of Job and his friends to find some solution of the problem of his suffering is expressed in the words of a wisdom book.

There are grades or varieties of wisdom. There is a purely worldly wisdom, such as Jesus referred to when he said:—

"The sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of the light." Luke 16:8.

This wisdom is the result of experience, as in Job 12: 12–13, "with aged men is wisdom." In this case the wisdom of a course of action is usually determined by the results of it. In Ecclesiastes we read of this sort of wisdom in a parable:—

"I have also seen wisdom under the sun on this wise, and it seemed great unto me. There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man. Then said I, Wisdom is better than strength; nevertheless the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard." 9:13–16.

There is another wisdom, resulting from the fear of Jehovah, by which men guide and control their lives:—

"The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom." Proverbs 9:10.

"Surely there is a mine for silver, And a place for gold which they refine. . . .
But where shall wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding? . . .

God understandeth the way thereof,
And he knoweth the place thereof. . . .
Behold, the fear of the Lord that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding." Job 28:1, 12, 23, 28.

In Proverbs we read:—

"The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of knowledge." 1:7.

"Jehovah giveth wisdom; . . .
He layeth up sound wisdom for the upright." 2:6, 7.

"The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom;
And knowledge of the Holy One is understanding." 9:10.

Perhaps the idea stated negatively is:—

"The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." Psalm 14:1.

There is the conception of wisdom as having been in the possession of Jehovah when he created the universe:—

"Jehovah by wisdom founded the earth;
By understanding he established the heavens.
By his knowledge the depths were broken up,
And the skies drop down the dew." Proverbs 3:19–20.

"Jehovah possessed me [wisdom] in the beginning of his way,
Before his works of old." Proverbs 8:22.

"When he made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder;
Then did he see it [wisdom], and declare it;
He established it, yea, and searched it out." Job 28:26–27.

"All wisdom *cometh* from the Lord,
And is with him forever." Ecclesiasticus 1:1.

Wisdom here has reference to God's ordering and governing of nature and man. The thought probably is that the universe reveals evidences of intelligent design in all its parts, and in their relations to each other, and in the government of all. An interesting passage concerning the part of this wisdom in the creation and government of the "things that are" is the following:—

"For himself [God] gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are,
To know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements;
The beginning and end and middle of times,
The alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons,
The circuits of years and the positions of stars;
The natures of living creatures and the ragings of wild beasts,
The violences of winds and the thoughts of men,
The diversities of plants and the virtues of roots:
All things that are either secret or manifest I learned,
For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, *even* wisdom." TheWisdom of Solomon 7:17–22.

PROVERBS

The Book of Proverbs is a compilation, chapters 1–9 being admonitions to young men concerning the temptations of youth, and including the wisdom poems, in which wisdom is personified as crying aloud in the street, and by the city gate. Chapters 10:1–22:16 give a collection of proverbs of Solomon, which are not connected in literary unity, but deal with various topics.

There is in them the result of keen observation of men, their manners, words and deeds. With 22:17 we begin another supplement consisting perhaps of "proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, copied out," as chapters 25–29 are expressly stated to be.

The words of Agur, and the words of King Lemuel, chapters 30, 31, are called "oracles" or "burdens," a term applied to the writings of prophets, Isaiah 13:1, 15:1, etc. The book closes with an acrostic poem, which gives a beautiful and discriminating picture of "a worthy woman." This poem, and, in fact, the entire book of Proverbs is "gnomic" poetry, of which, in addition to the ethical and religious varieties, we find in the Bible other examples, such as the fable of Jotham about the trees, Judges 9:8–15; the riddle of Samson, Judges 14:12–18, which resulted in a guessing contest and a wager; and the riddles of the four insatiable things, Proverbs 30:15, 16; the four incomprehensible things, vs. 18–20; the four unendurable things, vs. 21–23; the four wise things, vs. 24–28; the four stately things, vs. 29–31. Other examples of this kind of poetry are found in Proverbs 6:16–19, where we have seven "things which Jehovah hateth"; and in Ecclesiasticus, 25, three beautiful things, v. 1; three hateful kinds of men, v. 2; ten happy things, vs. 7–11; 26, four things to be afraid of, v. 5; three things that cause grief and anger, v. 28. Similar to these so-called "numerical" proverbs is Ecclesiasticus 42:1–8, a list of things of which not to be ashamed; and the two things asked by Agur, Proverbs 30:7–9; and the three kinds of men, Ecclesiasticus 23:16. Distinct and complete gnomic poems are the poem on the drunkard, Proverbs 23:29–35; the two poems on the

sluggard, Proverbs 6:6–11 and 24:30–34, both of which end with the same lines; the pastoral poem, Proverbs 27:23–27; the words of Agur, Proverbs 30:7–9; the words of King Lemuel's Mother, Proverbs 31:2–9; Job, ch. 28, which is a wisdom poem; the collection of poems forming a series of discourses on wisdom in Proverbs, chs. 1–9; the wisdom poems found in the Wisdom of Solomon, and in Ecclesiasticus; and other poems in the wisdom books, which are so printed in the Revised Versions as to be easily identified. The literary unity and completeness of such poems appears when they are taken out of their usual setting in the midst of a page of the Bible, as will be seen from the following examples:—

The Drunkard

Proverbs 23:29–35

"Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow? Who hath contentions?
Who hath complaining? Who hath wounds without cause?
Who hath redness of eyes?
They that tarry long at the wine;
They that go to seek out mixed wine.
Look not thou upon the wine when it is red,
When it sparkleth in the cup,
When it goeth down smoothly:
At the last it biteth like a serpent,
And stingeth like an adder.
Thine eyes shall behold strange things,
And thy heart shall utter perverse things.
Yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in the midst of the sea,
Or as he that lieth upon the top of a mast.
They have stricken me, *shalt thou say*, and I was not hurt;

They have beaten me, and I felt it not:
When shall I awake? I will seek it yet again."

The Sluggard

Proverbs 6:6–11

"Go to the ant, thou sluggard;
Consider her ways, and be wise:
Which having no chief,
Overseer, or ruler,
Provideth her bread in the summer,
And gathereth her food in the harvest.
How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard?
When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?
Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep:
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man."

The Sluggard's Field

Proverbs 24:30–34

"I went by the field of the sluggard,
And by the vineyard of the man void of understanding;
And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns,
The face thereof was covered with nettles,
And the stone wall thereof was broken down.
Then I beheld, and considered well;
I saw and received instruction:
Yet a little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep;
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man."

One poem is addressed to the sluggard himself, the other is the impressions received from beholding the decayed condition of his field and vineyard.

In contrast to the poems on the sluggard is the following:—

The Care of the Flock

Proverbs 27:23–27

"Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks,
And look well to thy herds:
For riches are not forever;
And doth the crown endure unto all generations?
The hay is carried, and the tender grass showeth itself,
And the herbs of the mountains are gathered in.
The lambs are for thy clothing,
And the goats are the price of the field;
And *there will be* goats' milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household,
And maintenance for thy maidens."

Profound knowledge of human nature is displayed in these two poems:—

The Beggar

Ecclesiasticus 40:28–30

"My son, lead not a beggar's life;
Better it is to die than to beg.
A man that looketh unto the table of another,
His life is not to be counted for a life;
He will pollute his soul with another man's meats:
But a man wise and well-instructed will beware thereof.
In the mouth of the shameless begging will be sweet;
And in his belly a fire shall be kindled."

How to Become Beloved

Ecclesiasticus 4:7–10

"Get thyself the love of the congregation;
And to a great man bow thy head.

Incline thine ear to a poor man,
And answer him with peaceable words in meekness.
Deliver him that is wronged from the hand of him that wrongeth him;
And be not fainthearted in giving judgment.
Be as a father unto the fatherless,
And instead of a husband unto their mother:
So shalt thou be as a son of the Most High,
And he shall love thee more than thy mother doth."

ECCLESIASTES

The Book of Ecclesiastes, which contains the results, not only of observation, on the part of a keen observer, but also of analysis and reflection on the part of one who was anxious to derive some specific lesson from what he saw, closes with the words:—

"*This is* the end of the matter; All hath been heard: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole *duty* of man. For God will bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." Ecclesiastes 12:13–14.

The author is utterly unable to understand the reasons for the inequalities he observes in the lots of men as regards possessions or happiness:—

"I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." Ecclesiastes 9:11.

Ecclesiastes, as a book, differs from Proverbs in having a literary unity resulting from the fact that

there is a progress of thought from beginning to end. The transitions are often abrupt, and the reasons not always clear, but the thoughts lead to the conclusion of the last verses. The author of Ecclesiastes tells us that he had proposed to himself the question:—

"What profit hath man of all his labor wherein he laboreth under the sun?" Ecclesiastes 1:3.

To many readers "vanity" seems to be the answer given to the question by the Preacher, but in reality that is only a part of the answer, the whole of which is given in 8:16–9:1, which may be called the turning point of the book:—

"When I applied my heart to know wisdom, and to see the business that is done upon the earth . . . then I beheld all the work of God, that man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun: because however much a man labor to seek it out, yet he shall not find it; yea moreover, though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it. For all this I laid to my heart, even to explore all this: that the righteous, and the wise, and their works, are in the hand of God; whether it be love or hatred, man knoweth it not; all is before them." Ecclesiastes 8:16–9:1.

This world, seen only as the natural man sees it, is an inscrutable mystery, and the only thing that makes life worth living is the belief that God is beneficent and that the result may safely be left to him:—

"Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy,
And drink thy wine with a merry heart;
For God hath already accepted thy works.
Let thy garments be always white;
And let not thy head lack oil." Ecclesiastes 9:7–8.

"As thou knowest not what is the way of the wind,
Nor how the bones *do grow* in the womb of her that is with child;
Even so thou knowest not the work of God
Who doeth all." Ecclesiastes 11:5.

Thou dost not understand the processes and operations of nature, and how canst thou understand God? is the substance of Jehovah's speeches to Job who, like the Preacher, comes to the conclusion:—

"I know that thou canst do all things,
And that no purpose of thine can be restrained.
Who is this that hideth counsel without knowledge?
Therefore have I uttered that which I understood not,
Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not." Job 42:2–3.

An interesting point of similarity between Job and Ecclesiastes is that in each there is at first the assumption on the part of man that he can by an intellectual process understand God's justice, can "by searching find out God," and then the conclusion, as the result of having tried, that man cannot understand God. This seems to be the thought in Job where Zophar, 11:7, maintains that the wisdom of God is beyond man's grasp, against Job's opinion that man can understand God, if God will only give him a chance, for he appeals directly to God, 31:35–37, to answer him.

A notable feature of Ecclesiastes is what has been called the scientific method adopted by the author to reach his conclusions. He does not simply make a general statement and then try to prove it. He states what he believes to be facts, and from them, by induction, endeavors to derive a general proposition. Beginning

with some general statements concerning human life, 1:1–11, he proceeds to tell us of certain experiments he made by devoting himself to the pursuit successively of wisdom, mirth, wine, houses and vineyards, forests, great possessions, singers, musicians, whatsoever the eyes desired. All proved to be "vanity and a striving after wind," 2:26. Having failed to find satisfaction in his experiments, he then turned to observation of nature, and of men, individually, and collectively. He reached some conclusions, which he states, without however being able to solve at all the mystery of the inequalities and apparent injustice, which he observes among men:—

"Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God; for to draw nigh to hear is better than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they know not that they do evil. . . . When thou vowest a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; . . . fear thou God. . . . Every man also to whom God hath given riches and wealth, and hath given him power to eat thereof, and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labor—this is the gift of God." Ecclesiastes 5:1, 4, 7, 19.

Both experiment and observation have convinced the Preacher that man cannot understand or alter the works of God, so the only thing for him to do is to trust God, as a power higher than all, to do what is right:—

"Consider the work of God: for who can make that straight, which he hath made crooked? In the day of prosperity be joyful, and in the day of adversity consider; yea, God hath made the one side by side with the other, to the end that man should not find out anything *that shall be* after him." Ecclesiastes 7:13–14.

"Be not righteous overmuch; neither make thyself overwise: why shouldest thou destroy thyself? . . . It is good

that thou shouldest take hold of this; yea, also from that withdraw not thy hand: for he that feareth God shall come forth from them all." Ecclesiastes 7:16–18.

The conclusions drawn from experiment and observation are stated, beginning with 8:16, and closing with the beautiful allegory in chapter 12, and the note concerning the effort of the Preacher to teach the people wisdom. The voice of experience cries to the young:—

"Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth,
And let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth,
And walk in the ways of thy heart,
And in the sight of thine eyes;
But know thou that for all these things
God will bring thee into judgment." Ecclesiastes 11:9.

These are simply the words of wisdom, gained by experience of life, addressed to the youth. There is a judgment ahead and, when that time comes, the inequalities will be adjusted. Until that time they are beyond our understanding, but we must never cease to believe that absolute faith in the justice of God is essential to happiness.

CHAPTER XI

THE BOOK OF JOB

EVERY great poet has given expression to the idea that life is a progress towards an ultimate perfection, the road to which, for the race, as for the individual, lies through suffering, and struggle against opposing forces, the purpose of which we cannot fully understand, or, with our limited knowledge, reconcile with what we believe to be the justice of God.

Much theology is simply the effort to formulate a system of belief by which justice may be made consistent with mercy, and the imperfect finite be made acceptable to the perfect infinite. That God is just, and that he makes no unreasonable demand upon man is an idea often repeated in the Bible. In Deuteronomy, we read:—

"And now, Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of Jehovah, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good." Deuteronomy 10:12–13.

In Micah, a book older than Deuteronomy, we read similar words:—

"What doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God." Micah 6:8.

Isaiah said:—

"Thus saith Jehovah, Keep ye justice, and do righteousness; for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed." Isaiah 56:1.

Hosea said:—

"I desire goodness, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings." Hosea 6:6.

Peter said:—

"Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him." Acts 10:34–35.

Paul said:—

"God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation make also the way of escape, that ye may be able to endure it." I Corinthians 10:13.

Jesus said:—

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second like *unto it* is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments the whole law hangeth, and the prophets." Matthew 22:37–40.

The prevailing tone of the Bible is that of hope based on a belief in the justice and mercy of God. There is no sustained note of despair among the many writers who gave us the Bible; even the author of Ecclesiastes, after his apparent pessimism, says:—

"Though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and prolong his *days*, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, that fear before him: but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong *his* days, *which are* as a shadow; because he feareth not before God." Ecclesiastes 8:12–13.

Asaph, after his periods of despondence, rises with the joyful assurance:—

"My flesh and my heart faileth;
But God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever." Psalm 73:26.

and:—

"O God, why has thou cast *us* off forever?" . . .
"Yet God is my King of old, Working salvation in the midst of the earth." Psalm 74:1, 12.

The Korahite sings:—

"Why art thou cast down, O my soul?
And *why* art thou disquieted within me?
Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him
For the help of his countenance." Psalm 42:5.

David says:—

"How long, O Jehovah? Wilt thou forget me forever?
How long wilt thou hide thy face from me? . . .
"But I have trusted in thy loving kindness; My heart shall rejoice in thy salvation." Psalm 13:1, 5.

The familiar Bible stories almost invariably have happy endings. Ishmael is delivered, after his mother Hagar had withdrawn that she might not see him die. Isaac is saved at the last moment. Elijah, in spite of

plots against him, lives to be taken up in a chariot. Joseph, to the surprise of his wicked brethren, does not die, but lives and becomes an influential man in Egypt. Hezekiah was saved from the army of Sennacherib by a miracle. David slew Goliath. The same cheerfulness characterizes the New Testament. No matter how dark the way, there is always a light at the end of it. No matter how terrible the trials, they work for ultimate good. Paul said:—

". . . we also rejoice in our tribulations: knowing that tribulation worketh stedfastness; and stedfastness, approvedness; and approvedness, hope: and hope putteth not to shame; because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us." Romans 5:3–5.

With all these expressions of faith, as we find them in the Old Testament and the New, on the part of men who coupled them with a definite recognition of the difficulties by which faith is usually confronted, we find also a number of passages in which the difficulties are presented in such a way as to challenge the answer of faith, and demand an explanation. The Book of Job is not the only place in the Bible in which the problem of the sufferings of the righteous man, and the apparent happiness of the wicked, is discussed. It is a perennial problem, which continually reappears in literature because it continually reappears in life. If God is good and just, why do the righteous have to suffer? The idea that suffering is a punishment for sin is generally accepted, but there is much suffering that does not appear to be the result of sin on the part of the sufferer. Why then does it exist?

The Greek story of Prometheus has many analogies

to that of Job, and in Babylonian literature has been found a story of a man very much like Job, who was made by a god to endure great sufferings.[1] The disobedience of Adam and Eve resulted in expulsion from the garden and the sentence that they must labor for their bread, Genesis, ch. 3. The sin of Cain brought upon him the curse, Genesis 4:10–11. Joseph's brethren at once associated the threat to kill them with the sin they had committed, Genesis 42:21. Examples of retributive justice are numerous in the Old Testament and the New, but there keeps recurring the question—Why do the righteous have to suffer? The problem of justice was propounded on several occasions to Jesus, not only by those who sought to discredit him, but also by his disciples. They ask concerning the blind man:—

"Rabbi, who sinned, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" John 9:2.

In Luke 13:2–4, the disciples are told that the Galileans who had been slain by Pilate, and the eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, were not sinners above others, and that the woman, ill for eighteen years, whom he healed on the sabbath, to the great indignation of the ruler of the synagogue, had been bound by Satan, and not, apparently, as a result of any sin. In these cases, as in that of the rich man and the beggar, Luke, 16, and the laborers in the vineyard, Matthew 20, the apparent inequality of God's dealings with men is the subject of questionings.

The parable of the Prodigal Son introduces the love

[1] A translation of the Babylonian story is given in *Archaeology and the Bible*, by G. A. Barton, p. 392. An account of it with a translation is given in "A Babylonian Parallel to the Story of Job," by M. Jastrow, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 25, pp. 135–191.

of the father as more powerful than any other consideration. It is Hosea, in the Old Testament, who makes the love of God for his children the most important fact in his relations to them, and it is this idea, not found expressed in any such way in the earlier conceptions of religion, that makes Hosea, perhaps, of all the Old Testament teachers, the one whose words approach most nearly to the spirit of the New. Hosea makes Jehovah say:—

"When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." Hosea 11:1.
"I drew them with the cords of a man, with bands of love." Hosea 11:4.
"I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely." Hosea 14:4.

To this question concerning inequalities, however and wherever propounded, the only answer given is that God is sovereign:—

"Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? . . . So the last shall be first, and the first last." Matthew 20:15–16.

Jeremiah recognizes the problem presented by the righteousness of God and the inequalities among men:—

"Righteous art thou, O Jehovah, when I contend with thee; yet would I reason the cause with thee: wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they at ease that deal very treacherously?" Jeremiah 12:1.

Jeremiah 31:29, and Ezekiel 18:2, both quote the proverb:—

"The fathers have eaten sour grapes,
And the children's teeth are set on edge."

It is a matter of interest to note that the verses, which immediately follow, in Ezekiel, expressly repudiate the doctrine that children should suffer for the sins of their parents:—

"As I live, saith the Lord Jehovah, ye shall not have *occasion* any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die."

"The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." Ezekiel 18:3, 4, 20.

Habakkuk also raises the same question concerning the justice of God:—

"Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness, wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?" Habakkuk 1:13.

The prosperity of the wicked is often referred to, and the only consoling thought in connection with it is that it cannot last long. The righteous man may suffer, but will finally triumph. That was the only conclusion consistent with the conception of a just God, and ultimate happiness, in spite of present suffering, is the teaching of the Beatitudes, Matthew, ch. 5.

The Book of Job is the greatest example of wisdom literature, but while dramatic, and in the form of a

series of speeches and replies to them, it is not in its present form a drama in any strict sense. Dialogue is more frequent in Biblical poetry than our versions indicate, and this feature of Job seems to us therefore more unusual than it is. Job and the Song of Solomon are presented to us in dialogue that is really dramatic in character. The idea of a recent Syrian writer,[1] that the author of Job conceived of the book as an account of a poetical contest, such as is common in Syria, may perhaps be correct, so far as the form is concerned. A thesis, defended in a recent book,[2] is that Job was originally a Greek tragedy in the manner of Euripides, written under Greek influence, at a much later date than has usually been assigned to it.

The form in which Job now appears is, in the opinion of scholars, due to the editing of an older original book. The version preserved in Coptic is shorter than the Hebrew and represents perhaps the Septuagint in its

[1] A. T. Baroody, *Our Man of Patience*, Boston, 1915, p. 41.

[2] *The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy*, restored, with an introductory Essay on the Original Form and Philosophic Meaning of Job, by Horace Meyer Kallen, and an introduction by Professor George Foot Moore, of Harvard University, New York, 1918.

As Professor Moore says in his Introduction:—"The most striking feature of his [Dr. Kallen's] reconstruction is that it provides a reason for being and a suitable place for parts of the book which recent critics have commonly set aside as additions or interpolations, on the ground that they interrupt or suspend the movement of the poem, or are incongruous with the tenor of the whole or the person of the speaker, or seem to be merely purple patches." The poem on Wisdom, chapter 28, the lines on the oppressor and the oppressed, chapter 24, the poems on Behemoth and Leviathan in chapters 40 and 41 are thought by Dr. Kallen to be choral odes, which belong respectively, not in their present places, but after each of the three series of speeches, chapter 28 following chapter 14; chapter 24:2–24 belonging after chapter 21; chapters 40:15 to 41:26 after chapter 31. Elihu is made the coryphæus, which explains his being omitted from the list of speakers, the introduction of his speeches, chapters 32–37, being the necessary interruption or suspension between Job's challenge, 31:35, and the voice of Jehovah, the *deus ex machina* in 38:1. The preface and conclusion or prologue and epilogue are in keeping with the plan of tragedy as written by Euripides.

original text. The prose prologue, chs. 1 and 2, and epilogue, 42:7–17, and the intervention of Elihu, who is not mentioned elsewhere, chs. 32–37, are regarded as of different authorship from the poem. Some now think that there was an older People's Book of Job of which the prologue and epilogue of the existing book were portions, and that the dramatic poem has replaced a lost central part of the older version. Many differences between the prose and the dialogue portions confirm the opinions concerning different authorship, Satan appearing only in the prologue, and the patient Job of the prologue, being in contrast to the impatient Job of the poem. The intervention of Elihu was also perhaps not a part of the original poem, but a later addition. It will be observed that no one takes any notice of Elihu's speeches, and that in ch. 38 Jehovah answers Job, who had ceased speaking at the close of ch. 31, "The words of Job are ended," after he had challenged the Almighty to answer him. Some scholars regard the speeches of Elihu as a criticism of the book, rather than of Job himself. The poem on Wisdom, ch. 28, complete in itself, and having no necessary connection with the speech in which it occurs, may be an insertion, as may also be the poems on Behemoth, 40:15–24, and Leviathan, ch. 41, for they too seem complete in themselves, and are not essential in the thought to the speech of Jehovah to Job, 40:6–14, to which Job replies, 42:1–6. It is probable that there has been some dislocation of the text in the third series of speeches, as there appears to be no third speech for Zophar. As a discussion of this would take us beyond the purposes of the present volume, suffice it to say that there is reason to suppose that originally there were three complete cycles of speeches, and therefore a suggestion,

made in 1776 by Kennicott, that 27:13–23 really belongs to Zophar, may be mentioned here, though, owing to the thoughts expressed, it would probably be necessary to make also other rearrangements. Chapter 28 may likewise be a part of Zophar's third speech.[1]

Job is referred to by Ezekiel, 14:14, 16, 18, 20, with Noah and Daniel, as an historic person, and by James, 5:11, as a person of extraordinary virtues, whose history was well known. We are not concerned here with the question whether the Book of Job is a record of actual experiences, or is purely a work of the imagination, based on the character of a man who really lived and suffered. As literature it might be either, but the profound philosophy and noble poetry of the author, and his knowledge of the deep problems of human life, make the Book of Job, both in its conception as a work of literary art, and in its subject-matter, the greatest and the most daring that has come to us from the remote past. No other portion of the Old Testament, except the latter part of Isaiah, chs. 40–66, "Second Isaiah," is comparable to Job as a lengthy treatment of a single subject.[2]

[1] See S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, p. 423. " . . . more recent critics have supposed the text to be disarranged, suggesting, for instance, as the original order (Bildad) c. 25, 26:5–14; (Job) 26:1–4, 27: 2–6–11 (followed originally by a description of the misgovern. ment of God, like those in cc. 21, 24) 12; (Zophar) 27:7–10, 13–23; (Job c. 28 (cf. Cheyne, *Job* and *Sol.*, pp. 38, 114, *Enc. Bibl.* ii 2478; Duhm; Peake)." See also "Job," *The Bible for Home and School*, ed. G. A. Barton, Introduction.

[2] "The relation of the drama [Job] to the wonderful series of lyric poems inserted in the Second Isaiah, and especially to ch. 53, is a point of great interest. While suffering innocence is in both cases the central theme, the one poet is concerned with its national significance, the other with its personal; and, as the nation's interests were historically recognized before those of the individual, it is probable that the author of Job was the later of the two writers. He evidently knew the work of his predecessor (compare

With these prefatory notes we proceed to examine Job as to its literary structure. There are two distinct parts to the book, one is the prose story, told in the preface and conclusion; the other is the dramatic poem, which makes no reference to the prose story.

The Scenes, in Order

Scene 1. Home of Job in the Land of Uz.
Scene 2. Heaven, Jehovah receiving the sons of God, and Satan.
Scene 3. Home of Job.
Scene 4. Heaven, Jehovah again holding a conference with the sons of God, and Satan.
Scene 5. Home of Job, changing to the refuse heap near the house.
Scene 6. Home of Job.

Scene 5 is that of the dramatic poem. The other scenes are of the story told in the prose preface and conclusion. The book comprises these divisions:—

1. The Scenes on Earth and in Heaven telling of the prosperity of Job, and his trials and sufferings as a result of the words and work of Satan, permitted by Jehovah.
2. Three cycles of speeches by Job and his three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar.
3. The Speeches of Elihu.
4. The Speeches of Jehovah, and Job's replies.
5. Jehovah's punishment of the three friends, and restoration of Job to health and wealth.

Job 16:17 with Is. 53:9), and may well have believed that Israel was vicariously suffering for the nations; but he does not apply this luminous conception to the trials of Job, in which the element of atoning sacrifice does not lie on the surface." James Strahan, *The Book of Job*, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 19.

Persons in the Prose Preface and Conclusion

1. Job.
2. Jehovah.
3. Sons of God (mute).
4. Satan.
5. Sons and daughters (mentioned).
6. Four messengers.
7. Job's wife.
8. Acquaintances and relatives (mute).
9. Eliphaz, the Temanite.
10. Bildad, the Shuhite.
11. Zophar, the Naamathite.

Persons in the Dramatic Poem

1. Job.
2. Eliphaz the Temanite.
3. Bildad the Shuhite.
4. Zophar the Naamathite.
5. Elihu the Buzite, a young man.
6. Bystanders (mute).
7. Jehovah, speaking out of the whirlwind.

The prose preface and conclusion are necessary in order that we may understand the situation presented in the poem itself. The councils in heaven, as described, are conceived of in the same way as that of I Kings 22: 19–22:—

"And *Micaiah* said, Therefore hear thou the word of Jehovah: I saw Jehovah sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And Jehovah said who shall entice Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said on this manner; and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit and stood before Jehovah, and said, I will

entice him. And Jehovah said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go forth and do so. Now . . . . Jehovah hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets."

In Zechariah 3:1, Joshua, Satan the adversary, and the Angel of Jehovah, appear in a scene in which Satan is rebuked. Satan is spoken of in I Chronicles 21:1, as moving David to number Israel, a deed which, in the parallel passage in II Samuel 24:1, is attributed to Jehovah. Similarly, in the preface, it is Satan who afflicts Job, and in the poem, Job attributes his sufferings to Jehovah, making no mention of Satan. The "sons of God" are mentioned, 38:7.

In the Apocryphal books of Enoch, are to be found accounts of the angels and the satans, of whom, one was the Satan, or adversary. The reference in Jude, v. 6, and II Peter 2:4 to the war in heaven, and the story, Genesis 6:2, of the "sons of God," taking wives, are likewise parts of stories which doubtless were well-known in the Orient. They are to be found, derived probably from much earlier sources, in Enoch, which contains also an account of Leviathan and Behemoth.[1]

Job and his friends of course know nothing of the scenes in heaven, and therefore of the reason for the sufferings. The prologue makes these simply the means

[1] See *The Book of Enoch*, ed. by R. H. Charles, and *The Secrets of Enoch*, translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, and edited by R. H. Charles. Dr. Charles says: "The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O. T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the ægis of some ancient name." *The Book of Enoch*, Introduction, p. x.

by which Satan tests the goodness of Job, after having asserted that Job did not serve God disinterestedly.

Our conception of Job as a proverbially patient man comes wholly from the prologue, and from the mention of him by James, 5:11, "Ye have heard of the patience of Job," and not from the poem, in which Job is not only not patient, but is in open rebellion against God for permitting and causing him to suffer:—

"I loathe *my life;* I would not live alway:"
"If I have sinned, what do I unto thee, O thou watcher of men?
Why hast thou set me as a mark for thee
So that I am a burden to myself?" Job 7:16, 20.
"I cry unto thee, and thou dost not answer me:
I stand up, and thou gazest at me.
Thou art turned to be cruel to me;
With the might of thy hand thou persecutest me." Job 30:20–21.
"O that I had one to hear me!
(Lo here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me)
And *that I had* the indictment which mine adversary hath written!" Job 31:35.

Jehovah says to Job:—

"Shall he that cavilleth contend with the Almighty?
He that argueth with God, let him answer it." Job 40:2.

Job is firm in his belief that God is also kindly disposed to men and that all blessings come from him:—

"Thou hast granted me life and loving kindness;
And thy visitation hath preserved my spirit." Job 10:12.

The poem on Wisdom, ch. 28, is similar in many respects to that in Proverbs 8 and 9, containing the

same fundamental ideas expressed in almost the same words. Job says:—

"It cannot be gotten for gold,
Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof." . . .
"No mention shall be made of coral or of crystal:
Yea, the price of wisdom is above rubies." . . .
"When he made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder;
Then did he see it, and declare it;
He established it, yea, and searched it out.
And unto man he said,
Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding." Job 28:15, 18, 26, 27, 28.

Proverbs says:—

"Receive my instruction, and not silver;
And knowledge rather than choice gold.
For wisdom is better than rubies;
And all the things that may be desired are not to be compared unto it." . . .
"Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way,
Before his works of old." . . . "When there were no depths, I was brought forth,
When there were no fountains abounding with water." Proverbs 8:10, 11, 22, 24.
"The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom;
And the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding." Proverbs 9:10.

Ecclesiasticus, ch. 24, is another wisdom poem, with which these may be compared.

There are many interesting facts to be noted concerning Job that bring the book into contrast with other books of the Old Testament. Job was a monoga-

mist. The Jehovah of the book is the God of the universe, who has no favorite nation, but who deals with mankind. Job has, in the poem, no idea of God as requiring the offering of sacrifices, or as being worshipped in only one particular place, though in the prologue he offers sacrifice, 1:5, and in the epilogue the friends do, 42:8. Job and his friends were not necessarily Hebrews, although there are some passages which indicate a knowledge of the law, as 22:6, and 24:9, which may refer to the pledges of Exodus 22:26 and Deuteronomy 24:17; and 31:9–11, 26–28, which may refer to the procedure against adulterers, or those who worship the sun and moon, as given in Deuteronomy 22:22, 4:19, 17:3–7. The author of Job was familiar with the life of cities, as allusions show. He knew also the papyrus boats on the Nile, "the ships of reed," 9:26, which Isaiah 18:2, also mentions. He knew "the caravans of Tema" and "the companies of Sheba," 6:19.

The speakers in the poem are:—

1. Job, the perfect man, whose character and position are indicated, in the prologue, and by his declarations concerning himself in chapters 29–31.
2. Eliphaz, the Temanite, the oldest of the friends, gentle and dignified.
3. Bildad, the Shuhite, a good man, deeply concerned for Job.
4. Zophar, the Naamathite, impetuous and not very considerate of the feelings of Job.
5. Elihu, the Buzite, a self-sufficient young man.
6. Jehovah.

The friends, holding the orthodox view that suffering is the direct result of sin, and that Job is being

punished for something he had done that he would not confess, direct their arguments, not only against what Job says, but also against what they think to be Job's real position towards God. To the arguments of his three old friends Job makes reply, but to the speeches of Elihu no reply is made by either Job or his friends, although they are directly addressed. Job's reply to his wife "Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh," 2:10, and his reply, 12:2–4, to Zophar, who had hurt him 11:6, with the words "God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth," are very human, and the humanity of Job and his friends, even in the most exalted passages is noteworthy.

After we have been put into possession of the facts necessary to an understanding of the situation, including the advice given to Job by his wife, who, of all his immediate family, is the only one left to him, we see Job, seated among the ashes, and his three friends, each of whom had come from a distance to be with him, seated near him with rent garments and dust on their heads, in token of sympathy. Job's troubles were of two kinds, first, the loss of his children, wealth, and power, resulting in a change in his relations to men; second, his physical afflictions, which caused him great suffering. In words of transcendent tenderness he describes his bereavement:—

"Oh that I were as in the months of old,
As in the days when God watched over me;
When his lamp shined upon my head,
And by his light I walked through darkness;
As I was in the ripeness of my days,
When the friendship of God was upon my tent;
When the Almighty was yet with me,
And my children were about me;

When my steps were washed with butter,
And the rock poured me out streams of oil!" Job 29:2–6.

This picture of Job must be kept in mind, as well as that of his physical torments, as presented in such verses as these:—

"So am I made to possess months of misery,
And wearisome nights are appointed to me.
When I lie down, I say,
When shall I arise, and the night be gone?
And I am full of tossings to and fro unto the dawning of the day.
My flesh is clothed with worms and clods of dust;
My skin closeth up, and breaketh out afresh." Job 7:3–5.

The perfection of Job's character, as represented in the opening chapter of the book, and the completeness of his afflictions, confront us with the question which the author of the book desires to discuss. How would an absolutely perfect man, possessed of all that the world can give, behave, if suddenly called upon, for no apparent reason, to endure the loss of all that contributes to human happiness. We have no abstract problem in Job, to be treated as mere theory. The advice of his wife and the distrust of him, shown by his friends, complete the sum of what this great-souled man is called upon to endure. His greatest troubles are mental and spiritual, not physical. Under the circumstances, as we are told them, the attack on Job's integrity made by his wife, and by his old friends, was perhaps harder for him to bear than his losses, and his physical pains, for he cries out, in his anguish of soul:—

"He hath put my brethren far from me,
And mine acquaintance are wholly estranged from me.

My kinsfolk have failed,
And my familiar friends have forgotten me.
They that dwell in my house, and my maids, count me for a stranger:
I am an alien in their sight.
I call unto my servant, and he giveth me no answer,
Though I entreat him with my mouth.
My breath is strange to my wife,
And my supplication to the children of mine own mother."
Job 19:13–17.

In the epilogue, 42:11, these brethren and sisters and acquaintances return to Job as soon as he is again wealthy. They are even willing to give him money, when they know he does not need it. Truly the author of Job understood human nature and, apparently incidentally, but perhaps as a part of his plan in writing the book depicted the essential sin of selfishness in the inability of the friends to understand Job, because of the narrowness of their own views, and in the indifference and even contempt of his kinsfolk and acquaintances, when he could no longer be useful to them.

The morality, and spiritual dignity of the man, who, before Jehovah, made, concerning his conduct in life, the declarations of ch. 31, after having described his former greatness, ch. 29, and present miserable condition, ch. 30, cause him to stand out in contrast to his friends and acquaintances, like a lofty mountain rising above the inequalities of the plain.

After a silence of seven days and nights Job speaks. His words are not the impatient utterance of one who has suddenly experienced affliction. They are a marvelously imaginative presentation of three thoughts, which may be transformed into questions that men still ask:—

1. Why was I born?
2. Why died I not at birth?
3. Why is life prolonged when it means suffering?

These questions are fundamental. Job attributes life with all its blessings and its ills to God, who, if he would, could spare man suffering. In the prologue, 1:5, Job offers sacrifices in order to protect his sons against the consequences of having "sinned and renounced God in their hearts," thus indicating his acceptance of the orthodox idea, which is so persistently presented to him by his friends. In the poem, however, Job denies that suffering is the result of sin in his case, and challenges God to charge him with unrighteousness, 31:35–37.

Let us see what the accusations are, and what replies to them Job made in the discussion with his friends. Eliphaz, with a courtesy and gentleness that distinguish him throughout the poem, begins by referring, in expressions of wonderful tenderness and beauty, to the fact that Job had been the teacher and comforter of others in trouble, but that now he has need of comfort himself. But he immediately reminds Job of something that Job had probably told others, that none ever "perished being innocent," 4:7, and:—

"Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth:
Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty." Job 5:17.

To this speech Job replies by referring to the fact that God has afflicted him, and his friends and brethren have not showed him kindness, 6:4, 14, 15, and by asking Eliphaz to teach him wherein he has erred:—

"But your reproof, what doth it reprove? . . .
"For surely I shall not lie to your face, Return I pray you, let there be no injustice;
Yea, return again, my cause is righteous." Job 6:25, 28, 29.

And in the same speech Job addresses Jehovah:—

"If I have sinned, what do I unto thee, O thou watcher of men?
Why hast thou set me as a mark for thee,
So that I am a burden to myself?
And why dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away mine iniquity?" Job 7:20, 21.

Job's speeches are addressed not only to his friends, but also, in many passages, to God directly. The words addressed to God shock the old men, who refer to them, as Bildad does:—

"Doth God pervert justice?
Or doth the Almighty pervert righteousness?
If thy children have sinned against him,
And he hath delivered them into the hand of their transgression;
If thou wouldest seek diligently unto God,
And make thy supplication to the Almighty;
If thou wert pure and upright:
Surely now he would awake for thee,
And make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous. . . .
Behold, God will not cast away a perfect man." Job 8:3–6, 20.

Job acknowledges the correctness of this, and says:—

"Of a truth I know that it is so:
But how can man be just with God?

If he be pleased to contend with him,
He cannot answer him one of a thousand.
. . . God will not withdraw his anger. . . . For he breaketh me with a tempest,
And multiplieth my wounds without cause." Job 9:2, 3,13, 17.

"I will say unto God, Do not condemn me;
Show me wherefore thou contendest with me. . . .
Although thou knowest that I am not wicked,
And there is none that can deliver out of thy hand." Job 10:2, 7.

Zophar, from whom we now hear, is of impetuous disposition. He has heard Job's replies to Eliphaz and Bildad and begins by condemning Job for his boastful and defiant words:—

"Should thy boastings make men hold their peace?
And when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed?
For thou sayest, My doctrine is pure,
And I am clean in thine eyes.
But oh that God would speak,
And open his lips against thee,
And that he would show thee the secrets of wisdom!
For he is manifold in understanding.
Know therefore that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity deserveth." Job 11:3–6.

To this speech of Zophar, and to those of the other two friends, Job replies, in his third speech:—

"No doubt but ye are the people,
And wisdom shall die with you.
But I have understanding as well as you;
I am not inferior to you:
Yea, who knoweth not such things as these?" Job 12:2–3.

He again asserts his righteousness, after appealing to the Almighty, 13:3, and says:—

"Behold now, I have set my cause in order;
I know that I am righteous." Job 13:18.

This is the state of the discussion at the close of the first series of speeches. Job has insisted that he is righteous, and that he desires to "reason with God" 13:3 and he has rejected, contemptuously at last, the arguments of his friends, to whom he says:—

"But ye are forgers of lies;
Ye are all physicians of no value.
Oh that ye would altogether hold your peace!
And it would be your wisdom." Job 13:4–5.

The second series of speeches follows the same order as the first. Eliphaz now turns Job's own words back on him, stung evidently by Job's assertion that the wisest thing for the friends to do would be to keep quiet. He says to Job:—

"For thine iniquity teacheth thy mouth,
And thou choosest the tongue of the crafty.
Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I;
Yea, thine own lips testify against thee.
Art thou the first man that was born?
Or wast thou brought forth before the hills?
Hast thou heard the secret counsel of God?
And dost thou limit wisdom to thyself?
What knowest thou, that we know not?
What understandest thou, which is not in us?
With us are both the gray-headed and the very aged men,
Much elder than thy father." Job 15:5–10.

Job evidently hoped that he had silenced them, and begins his reply:—

"Miserable comforters are ye all.
Shall vain words have an end?
Or what provoketh thee that thou answerest?
I also could speak as ye do;
If your soul were in my soul's stead,
I could join words together against you,
And shake my head at you.
But I would strengthen you with my mouth,
And the solace of my lips would assuage *your grief*." Job 16:2–5.

Job desired human sympathy, and not criticism or argument. He had told them before:—

"To him that is ready to faint kindness *should be showed* from his friend;
Even to him that forsaketh the fear of the Almighty.
My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook,
As the channel of brooks that pass away," etc. Job 6:14, 15.

He again declares that God has dealt unjustly with him:—

"I was at ease, and he brake me asunder;
Yea, he hath taken me by the neck, and dashed me to pieces;
He hath also set me up for his mark." Job 16:12.

Bildad resents Job's contemptuous attitude towards his friends:—

"Wherefore are we counted as beasts,
And are become unclean in your sight?
That thou tearest thyself in thine anger,
Shall the earth be forsaken for thee?
Or shall the rock be removed out of its place?" Job 18:3–4.

He then describes what happens to wicked men, 18:5–21, and the application of his words is clear.

Job, addressing his words to the friends, says:—

"These ten times have ye reproached me:
Ye are not ashamed that ye deal hardly with me.
And be it indeed that I have erred,
Mine error remaineth with myself. . . .
Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard:
I cry for help, but there is no justice." Job 19:3, 4, 7.

He rises to a climax of pathos:—

"Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends;
For the hand of God hath touched me.
Why do ye persecute me as God,
And are not satisfied with my flesh?" Job 19:21–22.

In this speech Job expresses a definite belief in the immortality of the soul, 19:25–27, to which he had referred in 14:14–15, and 16:18–22. Some day, Job believes, he will see God face to face, a desire expressed in 31:35–37. The translation, "Redeemer," of the Hebrew word *goel*, which means "vindicator" is misleading, for Job denied that he had sinned. The "goel" was a redeemer from unmerited wrong, not from sin.[1]

[1] This passage, Job 19:25–26, is an interesting example of the more accurate rendering of the Revised Versions, for the King James Bible reads:—

"For I know *that* my Redeemer liveth, and *that* he shall stand at the latter *day* upon the earth: And *though*, after my skin, *worms* destroy this *body*, yet in my flesh shall I see God."

The italicized words are not in the original. The Revised Version reads:—

"But I know that my redeemer liveth,
And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth:
And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
Yet from my flesh shall I see God."

The American Revised Version reads:—

"But as for me I know that my Redeemer liveth,
And at last he will stand up upon the earth:
And after my skin, *even* this *body*, is destroyed,

The appeal made by Job to the pity of his friends, and his reminding them 19:29, that "there is a judgment," has its effect on Zophar who says:—

"I have heard the reproof which putteth me to shame,
And the spirit of my understanding answereth me." 20:3.

Zophar devotes his speech to a discussion of the proposition that "the triumphing of the wicked is short," 20:5, that God does not permit him to prosper. Job is not directly referred to, but in his reply calls attention to the fact that:—

"One dieth in his full strength,
Being wholly at ease and quiet:
His pails are full of milk,
And the marrow of his bones is moistened.
And another dieth in bitterness of soul,
And never tasteth of good.
They lie down alike in the dust,
And the worm covereth them." Job 21:23–26.

Here, and in the following verses, Job states his views of the general subject more definitely perhaps than elsewhere. He has agreed all along that the wicked do not flourish permanently, and that calamity and suffering follow sin, but he has consistently refused to accept this as having any bearing on his own case. His afflic-

Then without my flesh shall I see God."
The version of the Jewish Publication Society of America reads:—
"But as for me, I know that my Redeemer liveth,
And that He will witness at the last upon the dust;
And when after my skin this is destroyed,
Then without my flesh shall I see God."
The Douay Version, translating the Vulgate, reads:—
"For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God."

tions are the act of Jehovah, the justice of which is not apparent. To his friends Job again says:—

"How then comfort ye me in vain,
Seeing in your answers there remaineth *only* falsehood."
Job 21:34.

Eliphaz begins the third series of speeches, 22:1, with a repetition of the general accusation that Job had sinned, but now he becomes specific and charges him with the very sins against men, from which Job, later, ch. 31, in his oath of clearing, declares he has been absolutely free. These are avarice, extortion, violation of the laws of hospitality, misuse of power, and unkindness to widows and the fatherless. Then follows a beautiful and tender appeal to Job, such as Eliphaz alone of the friends could make, to turn to God, who is kind and righteous:—

"Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace:
Thereby good shall come unto thee. Receive I pray thee, the law from his mouth,
And lay up his words in thy heart.
If thou return to the Almighty, thou shalt be built up,
If thou put away unrighteousness far from thy tents."
Job 22:21–23.

To this Job replies, no longer in a tone of bitterness towards his friends, but with a desire that he may be at peace, not as the result of any acknowledgment of sin, but as the result of a statement of his case directly to God, and of a reply from him that would make all clear:—

"Oh that I knew where I might find him!
That I might come even to his seat!

I would set my cause in order before him,
And fill my mouth with arguments.
I would know the words which he would answer me,
And understand what he would say unto me.
Would he contend with me in the greatness of his power?
Nay; but he would give heed unto me.
There the upright might reason with him." Job 23:3–7.

Job does not understand why God permits injustice and avarice and all forms of unkindness to continue, ch. 24. He is impressed by the fact that these things exist, apparently unpunished, on earth, and the thought that the wicked ultimately fall does not satisfy him. There seems to him to be injustice inflicted upon the poor, 24:3–4.:—

"From out of the populous city men groan,
And the soul of the wounded crieth out:
Yet God regardeth not the folly." Job 24:12.

Bildad speaks of the greatness of God and the inferiority to him of man, repeating Job's question, 9:2, "But how can man be just with God?":—

"How then can man be just with God?
Or how can he be clean that is born of a woman?
Behold, even the moon hath no brightness,
And the stars are not pure in his sight:
How much less man, that is a worm!
And the son of man that is a worm!" Job-25:4–6.

Job refuses to have the issue confused by any general discussion of the greatness of God and the littleness of man. He wishes first, comfort from his friends, and second, a recognition by them that he has been treated unjustly by God:—

"As God liveth, who hath taken away my right,
And the Almighty, who hath vexed my soul . . .
Surely my lips shall not speak unrighteousness,
Neither shall my tongue utter deceit." Job 27:2–4.

If, as is possible, 27:13–28:28, is to be taken as the third speech of Zophar, for whom no speech is indicated in our version,[1] he there continues the thought of his second speech, ch. 20, and discusses God's treatment of wicked men. He makes several statements which may be applied directly to Job's present condition, which is thus attributed to his having sinned:—

"This is the portion of a wicked man with God. . . .
If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword; . . .
Though he heap up silver as the dust,
And prepare raiment as the clay;
He may prepare it, but the just shall put it on, . . .
For *God* shall hurl at him, and not spare: . . .
Men shall clap their hands at him,
And shall hiss him out of his place." Job 27:13, 14, 16, 17, 22, 23.

Job had lost his children, and his wealth, and had become an object of derision to men, ch. 30, he had complained that God had made a "mark" of him, 16:12, so the intention of Zophar's words is plain. If 27:7–23 is spoken by Job he is simply telling the friends what they have been telling him, although he had insisted that his own afflictions were not the result of sin.

The poem on Wisdom, ch. 28, is complete in itself and has no necessary connection with the argument,

[1] See above, p. 240, note. Dr. Driver however says:—"C. 27–28. Job's final words to his friends. Zophar fails to come forward; and Job accordingly, after a pause resumes his discourse." *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, S. R. Driver, p. 421.

but is perhaps more appropriately assigned to Zophar than to Job, for the latter is too much occupied with his thoughts of God's injustice to him, almost every word he has spoken referring directly to his personal condition, to enter upon a poetical treatment of Wisdom, by which is meant comprehension of God's government and regulation of the world of nature and the life of men. Wisdom and understanding are not given to the ostrich, but she knows what is needful for her. 39:17. In ch. 28, as in other passages in Job, the meaning is made clear by more accurate translation in the Revised Versions, and especially by recognition of the fact that the whole poem is included in the figure of the miner and the mine.

The division of the book consisting of the speeches of the three old friends, and Job's replies to them, is closed by the pictures given by Job, of his former greatness, when he was prosperous, respected, and "dwelt as a king in the army," ch. 29, and of his present pitiable condition, ch. 30, when he is held in derision by those "whose fathers" he "disdained to set with the dogs of [his] flock," when, afflicted physically, and persecuted by God, no one stretches out a hand to help him:—

"Thou art turned to be cruel to me;
With the might of thy hand thou persecutest me. . . .
When I looked for good, then evil came;
And when I waited for light, there came darkness." Job 30:21, 26.

Afflicted, despised by men, distrusted and accused by his friends, who utter no word of pity for his sufferings, this great-souled man, conscious of no sin towards God, by whom he believes himself to be persecuted,

maintains his integrity, and refuses absolutely to be false to his conviction of his own righteousness:—

"Till I die I will not put away mine integrity from me.
My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
Job 27:5–6.

Eliphaz, ch. 22, had accused Job of violations of his duties towards others. Job now, ch. 31, rises from his seat, as we see him in imagination, utters a declaration of innocence of all the charges made against him by Eliphaz, and ends by challenging the Almighty to answer him. This is the climax of his assertions of righteousness. "The words of Job are ended." The three friends "ceased to answer Job because he was righteous in his own eyes," 32:1. He declared himself innocent of impurity of life, injustice or unkindness to his servants, unkindness to widows and the fatherless, abuse of wealth, denial of God, joy in the calamity of even his enemy, lack of hospitality, fear of the opinion of others, misuse of the soil. The moral grandeur of Job in not rejoicing at the "destruction of him that hated" him is far in advance of the ideas of his age, and suggests the teaching of Jesus, Matthew 5:43–44, "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor,[1] and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you." With this self-vindication of Job the case rests. The wisdom of old men has not sufficed to make him acknowledge that his affliction must be the result of sin. On the contrary, he has maintained that God has persecuted him without cause, and that an explanation of the reason for this injustice is due. Job has appealed

[1] "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Leviticus 19:18.

to the highest court, and the friends, satisfied with their own position, simply wait in silence.

We now become aware that Job and his friends have been speaking in the presence of others. Job's wife, doubtless, his brethren and sisters and acquaintances, all of whom had turned against him, 19:13–19, had listened to the discussion and all had shared the opinions of the three friends. Evidently not one had sympathized with Job. Of these bystanders, one can no longer restrain himself. He had waited only until those who were older than he had ceased speaking. Elihu, a young man, not mentioned in either prologue or epilogue, and introduced here with an explanation of his interposition, addresses the three friends, 32:6–22, whom he reproaches for their failure to convince Job. They make no reply. He next addresses Job, ch. 33, who remains silent. Again he addresses the friends, turning later to Job, chs. 34–37. The friends and Job evidently ignore Elihu, much of whose speech must have been for the benefit of the bystanders.

Job and the three old men, who because of their age and experience, represent wisdom and understanding, are opposed by Elihu, who represents the opinion of the young man that wisdom is not derived from years and experience only, but that there is also a wisdom, which may be possessed naturally by the young, and which may be capable of reaching right conclusions concerning the problems of man and his relation to God.

Elihu, while criticising both Job and the friends for their failure to set forth adequately principles involved in the discussion of the justice of God, has little to add. The only new idea that he contributes is that afflictions may be warnings and discipline intended to reveal men to themselves:—

"And if they be bound in fetters,
And be taken in the cords of affliction;
Then he showeth them their work,
And their transgressions, that they have behaved themselves proudly." Job 36:8–9.

As he is speaking, Elihu evidently feels the first drops of rain, 36:27–29, and immediately directs attention to them, and to the clouds from which they came, as incomprehensible to man. The thunder and lightning likewise, familiar though they are, we do not understand, and how can man expect to understand God, who is nevertheless just:—

"*Touching* the Almighty, we cannot find him out:
He is excellent in power;
And in justice and plenteous righteousness he will not afflict." Job 37:23.

The scene closes in storm,[1] which adds greatly to the idea of the mysterious and irresistible power of God. The mention of rain and the reference to clouds, lightning and thunder always indicating and accompanying the presence of God, remind us of Psalm 29, which is a description of a storm, and also of "the thunderings and the lightnings" on Sinai, Exodus 20:18, and of the vision of Habakkuk ch. 3, when God was present. They serve the purpose of preparing the reader for the voice of Jehovah, which is now heard speaking to Job "out of the whirlwind," evidently in direct answer to the challenge which Job had uttered in the close of his speech:—

[1] A not uncommon literary device. Cf. the storms in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Lear*, and in other dramas.

"Lo, here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me." Job 31:35.

Job had appealed to the highest court, the friends had rested their case, and now all were to hear Jehovah. The tests, which Satan had been permitted to apply, Job had stood successfully. He had not renounced God, although, under affliction, and hurt by the words of his friends, he had insisted upon his righteousness, and had demanded of God a reason for his, to him, unjust sufferings. The Satan (who is not the Satan, or Devil, of the New Testament, a later conception) does not appear at the close of the book. Jehovah deals directly with Job.

Nowhere else is there such a magnificent description of the relation of God to his universe, as we have in Job, chs. 38 and 39. Parts of Isaiah are comparable to it in grandeur, but they are different in tone. Passages in Psalms rise to the summit of appreciation of the greatness of God in his creatorship. The author of Job impresses on us that the fabric of the entire universe is inseparable from the problems of man's life. Job must not think of himself alone, but as a part of God's creation. Job's demand for an answer from God is met by God's demand for an answer from Job:—

"Gird up now thy loins like a man;
For I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me.
Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
Declare, if thou hast understanding." Job 38:3–4.

And Job replies:—

"Behold I am of small account; what shall I answer thee?" Job 40:4.

And Jehovah asks:—

"Wilt thou even annul my judgment?
Wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be justified?"
Job 40:8.

Job is humiliated when he compares his littleness to God's greatness. He now sees that the purposes of Jehovah cannot be restrained, and that absolute dependence on God, and faith in his righteousness, is the only attitude that man should maintain. Job acknowledges no sin save that he had failed to recognize that there are relations in God's dealings with men, which men, owing to being finite, cannot understand. For men to assume that they do understand, or to complain of injustice, when they do not understand, are equally inconsistent with the unquestioning faith which Jehovah demands.

In the conclusion, Job is restored to greater prosperity than before, because he has steadfastly refused to utter falsehood by pretending to understand, what he did not. The three friends are rebuked, and commanded to offer sacrifice, not because they advanced the arguments they did, which were the orthodox arguments of their day, but because their attitude towards Job had been wrong throughout; for at no time did it occur to them, in their certainty of their own infallibility, that perhaps there might be, in a particular case, such as that of Job, elements of which they were ignorant. They are therefore punished not because they had wronged Job, but because they had wronged Jehovah, who says to Eliphaz:—

"My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends; for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right,

as my servant Job hath . . . and my servant Job shall pray for you; for him will I accept, that I deal not with you after your folly; . . . And Jehovah turned the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends." Job 42:7–10.

Opinions as to what the book of Job teaches are at variance with each other. The author of it does not draw conclusions as to the precise purpose of suffering. He does however set forth clearly his opinion that Job, in his persistent refusal to say that he believed something which he did not believe, pleased God, and that Job's friends, in their equally persistent endeavor to make Job believe that their opinions represented God's thoughts toward man, did not please God. The sovereignty of God is indisputable, and likewise inscrutable. Suffering may be a test of goodness, or a punishment for sin, or a warning and discipline. The first idea is that of the prologue, the second that of the three friends, and the third that of Elihu. Jehovah does not say why men are made to suffer.

The Job, who at the close of the book prays for his friends, is a man who has learned through the experience of great suffering, mental and spiritual, as well as physical, that men need sympathy and kindness more than they need criticism. In the opening chapter we see Job praying for his children. At the close we see him, chastened and humiliated, but happy in the favor of Jehovah, praying for those professed friends, who, in his sorrow and affliction, had for him no words of sympathy, but only accusations of hidden sin. Job, vindicated, praying for those who had not been kind to him, presents a remarkable picture. From a generation puzzled and perplexed by the impossibility of reconciling what they saw with what they professed to believe came the Book of Job, a discussion of the

problem, which reached the conclusion that the finite cannot understand the infinite. Job says:—

"I know that thou canst do all things,
And that no purpose of thine can be restrained.
Who is this that hideth counsel without knowledge?
Therefore have I uttered that which I understood not,
Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not." Job 42:2–3.

CHAPTER XII

PARABLES

The Oriental mind delights in picturesque figurative language of which the parables of the Old and New Testaments are evidence. To illustrate or explain an idea by telling a little story is as characteristic in the East to-day, as it was in the days of Jesus or of David. The little story, however, is not always for the purpose of making an idea easy to grasp, the parable being used probably to reveal a meaning gradually, and thus make it more impressive. The indirectness of the parable and its picturesqueness are spoken of, but it possesses another quality, which is the power to establish a sympathetic personal relationship between the speaker and his hearers by attracting their attention and arousing their curiosity as to the meaning.[1]

The absence of abstractions in the Bible even in the conceptions of God, and the purely personal character of all discussions and reasonings, is clearly evident in Job where an abstract problem is discussed in a concrete instance. When Jesus was asked "What is the great commandment?" Matthew 22:37–39, he replied in language which referred directly to the relationships of persons to each other, "Love the Lord thy God,"

[1] "Parabolic speech is dear to the Oriental heart. It is poetical, mystical, sociable. In showing the reason why Jesus taught in parables, Biblical writers speak of the indirect method, the picture language, the concealing of the truth from those 'who had not the understanding,' and so forth. But those writers fail to mention a most important reason, namely, the *sociable* nature of such a method of teaching, which is so dear to the Syrian heart." *The Syrian Christ*, A. M. Rihbany, p. 142.

"Love thy neighbor," words found also in Luke 10: 27. There is a picturesqueness about each of these commands. They are in Luke followed immediately by the question "Who is my neighbor?" which is answered by the parable of the good Samaritan. The symbolic visions of the prophets and of John all partake of the nature of parables, and most of them are the representation of one idea, or thing, in terms of another.

Both the Hebrew word, *māshāl*, and the Greek word *parabolē* contain the idea of a comparision of two things, a laying of one beside the other. The Hebrew word is translated "parable," and it is also translated "proverb," a fact which indicates the close relation of the parable to the proverb. Both contain comparisons, usually for the purpose of inculcating some moral truth. Most proverbs may easily be expanded into parables, and parables may be condensed into proverbs. The parable and the fable are similar, and the condensation into a proverb may be found, for example, in the moral appended to fables like Æsop's —"this fable is intended to teach this truth." Many of the same ideas that are presented in the parables of Jesus may be found, as part of the general thought of the Jews, in the book of Proverbs, but expressed far less forcibly and picturesquely. Is not the general idea of the parable of the talents, Matthew 25:14–30, or the pounds, Luke 19:12–26, contained in such proverbs as these?

"The hand of the diligent shall bear rule;
But the slothful shall be put under task work." Proverbs 12:34.

"The sluggard will not plow by reason of the winter;
Therefore he shall beg in harvest, and have nothing." Proverbs 20:4.

Teachings like those of the parable of the good Samaritan, Luke 10:30–37, may be expressed as proverbs:—

"Withhold not good from them to whom it is due,
When it is in the power of thy hand to do it." Proverbs 3:27.
"He that despiseth his neighbor sinneth;
But he that hath pity on the poor, happy is he." Proverbs 14:21.
"He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker;
But he that hath mercy on the needy honoreth him." Proverbs 14:31.

Perhaps some such story as that of the prodigal son, Luke 15:11–32, or a part of it, may be inferred from

"Whoso keepeth the law is a wise son;
But he that is a companion of gluttons shameth his father." Proverbs 28:7.

There are several uses of the word "parable" which are often distinguished:—

1. What we commonly know as "parables," short stories to illustrate some teaching, as the wise and foolish virgins. Matthew 25:1.

2. An indefinite use of the word "parable," where there is truth to be imparted, but there seems to be no explicit comparison, e. g., Psalm 78:2, "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old," or where the comparison is simply implied as in Mark 7:15, 17, "There is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him; but the things that proceed out of the man are those that defile the man." . . . "his disciples asked of him the parable."

3. The "proverb" which, in its origin, if not its form, is a comparison. This, as has been remarked often, is very clearly indicated by the well-known passage in the book of Proverbs 26:7, "The legs of the lame are not equal (A. R. V.

"hang loose"); so is a parable (proverb) in the mouth of fools."

4. The use of the word "parable" in such passages as Numbers 23:7, 18; Job 27:1; Isaiah 14:4; Micah 2:4; and Habakkuk 2:6, where we have the phrase to "take up his parable" or in Numbers 21:27, where a song of triumph is said to have been uttered by those "that speak in proverbs"—"In this use of the phrase, therefore, we seem to have a survival of the two peculiarities of the proverb, ordinarily so called, viz., the figurative method of teaching and the pointed form of parallelism or antithesis implying comparison or contrast, but of what we generally understand either by "parable" or by "proverb" there is hardly an indication." [1]

In passages like Deuteronomy 28:37, I Kings 9:7, and II Chronicles 7:20, the Hebrew word is translated "proverb" in a phrase, "a proverb and a by-word." The old English "by-word" meant a comparison, and was itself the equivalent of "proverb."

The Greek word *parabolē* from which we derive our word "parable" is translated "proverb" in the King James Version and "parable" in the Revised Versions in the passage:—

"Doubtless ye will say unto me this parable, Physician, heal thyself." Luke 4:23.

The same Greek word is translated "figure" in the King James and the American Revised Versions in the following passages. The Revised Version (1881) reads "parable" instead of "figure":—

". . . the way into the holy place hath not yet been made manifest, while the first tabernacle is yet standing; which *is* a figure for the time present." Hebrews 9:8, 9.

"from whence he did also in a figure receive him back." Hebrews 11:19.

[1] See Alfred Barry, *The Parables of the Old Testament*, London, pp. 15–21.

A parable is a series of instructions in:—

"And he spake a parable unto those that were bidden, when he marked how they chose out the chief seats; saying unto them, When thou art bidden of any man to a marriage feast, sit not down in the chief seat: etc." Luke 14:7–8.

A parable is a teaching or lesson in:—

"Now from the fig tree learn her parable." Matthew 24:32.

The parable may be a fable, which, like the parable, is characteristic of the Orient. The fable is represented in the Bible by only two examples, both treating of trees. The difference between the fable, exemplified in Æsop, or in the Bible, and the parable, is that the fable transcends nature and gives us talking animals, trees, etc., while the Biblical parable is always within the realm of reality. Dean Trench calls attention to this, and also to the fact that the fable is concerned only with "the recommendation and enforcement of the prudential virtues," never with spiritual truth.[1] This is clearly the distinction between the fables and the parables of the Bible. The fables in the Bible appear to be figures such as were common in the talk of the day. They are:—

The Fable of Jotham

"The trees went forth on a time
To anoint a King over them.

And they said unto the olive tree,
Reign thou over us,

[1] R. C. Trench, *Parables Condensed*, 1861, pp. 8–10.

But the olive tree said unto them,
Should I leave my fatness
Wherewith by me they honor God and man,
And go to wave to and fro over the trees?

And the trees said to the fig tree,
Come thou and reign over us.
But the fig tree said unto them,
Should I leave my sweetness
And my good fruit,
And go to wave to and fro over the trees?

And the trees said unto the vine,
Come thou and reign over us.
And the vine said unto them,
Should I leave my new wine,
Which cheereth God and man,
And go to wave to and fro over the trees?

Then said all the trees unto the bramble,
Come thou and reign over us.
And the bramble said unto the trees,
If in truth ye anoint me king over you,
Then come and take refuge in my shade;
And if not, let fire come out of the bramble,
And devour the cedars of Lebanon." Judges 9:8–15.

The Fable of Jehoash

"And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trod down the thistle. II Kings 14:9.

In "Go to the ant thou sluggard; Consider her ways and be wise," Proverbs 6:6, and "The ox knoweth his

owner, and the ass his master's crib; *but* Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider," Isaiah 1:3, we have comparison of men with animals—simply analogy. Ezekiel uses figurative language of the nature of the fable in passages like 17:3–10, 19:2–14, 24:3–14, where we have the figures of the two eagles, of the lioness, of the vine, of the seething cauldron; and in 31:3–9, of the cedar of Lebanon. These are not strictly fables, or parables, however, as the interpretation of them is interwoven with the figures. They are rather extended metaphors. We are never at a loss to know whether the words are figurative or literal. The figure of the vineyard in Isaiah 5:1–7 is explained, and its meaning made clear. It is used to enforce a lesson by drawing an analogy.

In the parable of the woman of Tekoah, II Samuel 14:1–20, and the parable of Nathan, II Samuel 12:1–15, we have examples of the tactful use of the parable for the purpose of conveying inoffensively to a passionate king messages which it would probably have been dangerous to utter directly. In each of these passages we have an intensely dramatic situation presented to us. There is a play of personalities on each other. There is more in the scene than merely the parable. In each instance as the result of listening to a parable, the king commits himself to an opinion, and to a course of action, only to find that he has condemned himself.

There is probably nothing in the Bible more generally known than the parables of Jesus, if we except the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Christmas story. There are other superlatively beautiful and likewise familiar passages such as the twenty-third Psalm, the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, the Beatitudes,

the fourteenth chapter of John, the sixth chapter of Ephesians, the thirteenth chapter of I Corinthians and the twelfth chapter of Romans, but the parables recorded in the first three Gospels have, ever since they were uttered, occupied a place of their own in men's thoughts. Qualities which these parables possess in a marked degree, and which, as has often been said of them, account fully for the importance which attaches to them, are their:—

1. *Universality.* They are true of all men, at all times, notwithstanding the fact that they originated in an Oriental land many centuries ago. They are general, for they do not deal with exceptional or improbable cases.

2. *Brevity.* No unnecessary details are introduced and yet, in every instance, we have a perfect picture, or a complete story. Nothing needs to be added to complete the meaning, or could be added without marring the literary beauty.

3. *Vividness.* They are full of action, which the reader is made to see as though present before his eyes.

4. *Appropriateness.* With all the qualities of informality, as though spoken on the instant, they are perfect in their applicability as illustrations of spiritual truths, so far as it is possible to illustrate them by analogies in the material world.

5. *Cheerfulness.* There is always a way of escape. The good always equal, and in most cases far outnumber, the wicked. Hebrew Literature "is man's great record of hope." The note of despair is touched but never sustained.[1] Only one sheep of a hundred strayed, and he was found and brought back. Only one piece of silver in ten was lost, and it was found.

6. *Familiarity.* All are taken from familiar scenes or customs, though some not familiar to any but an Oriental—the

[1] For an interesting discussion of this topic see *The Spectator*, London, February 3, 1912, p. 180, "The Absence of Tragedy in Hebrew Literature."

sower, the vineyard, the beggar, the marriage feast, the barren tree, the Pharisees and publicans, the leaven, the creditors and debtors, the laws of inheritance, etc.

7. *Broad humanity.* They are a rebuke to narrowness. It was not a common thing for a Samaritan to help a Jew, or a Jew a Samaritan, but the lesson could not be taught so clearly in the parable by having a Samaritan help a Samaritan or a Jew help a Jew.

8. *Simplicity.* They are direct in their language, but frequently contain truths which can be apprehended only by the deeper thinkers, a quality which the parables share with the apparently simple truths themselves.

9. *Variety.* The illustrations are presented in different forms, several (e. g., the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16: 19–31; the prodigal son, Luke 15:11–32; the laborers in the vineyard, Matthew 20:1–16;) contain dialogues. In Luke 15 we have a series of three parables, the lost sheep, the lost coin, the prodigal son. These exemplify the method of Jesus as a teacher. These are not three parables, each with the same teaching, which is emphasized by being presented from three different angles, but there are three different truths, presented, each in a separate parable, and all, taken together, set forth the attitude of God to the sinner. An Old Testament parable in the form of an allegory is Ecclesiastes 12 in which the interpretation is not given. Ecclesiastes 9:14–18, however, is the simple parable giving a concrete example of a general truth and requiring no interpretation.

The parables of Jesus vary in length from a simple simile such as that of the leaven:—"The kingdom of heaven is like leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened," Matthew 13:33, to the story with details like that of the good Samaritan, Luke 10:30–37, or, the unjust steward, or, the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:1–8, 19–31.

The parable is by no means always easily understood. This was characteristic of the general indirectness of the Semitic mind and specific instances will be found in such passages as:—

"Is he not a speaker of parables?" Ezekiel 20:49.
"I will open my mouth in a parable;
I will utter dark sayings of old,
Which we have heard and known,
And our fathers have told us." Psalm 78:2, 3.
"All these things spake Jesus in parables unto the multitudes; and without a parable spake he nothing unto them: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet, saying,
'I will open my mouth in parables;
I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world.'" Matthew 13:34.

When Jesus told to the multitude by the seaside the parable of the sower, Matthew 13:1–23, his disciples asked him "Why speakest thou unto them in parables?" "And he answered and said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." Mark 4:11, and Luke 8:10, also record this conversation, the meaning of which seems to be the same that is emphasized elsewhere, as in Isaiah 6:9, which Jesus quotes, and in I Corinthians 2:8–10, that spiritual meanings are not clear to those whose hearts have not been opened to receive them. A mystery was not a thing that could never be understood. The mysteries of Eleusis were known, but only to the initiated. There is, in the Old Testament and in the New, a distinction made between the initiated and the uninitiated in spiritual matters, between those who know the true God, Jehovah, and those whose

"ears are dull of hearing" and whose eyes are "closed." Jesus emphasized, and so did Paul, the idea that the disciples had, what the world in general had not, the knowledge of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven:—

"Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, . . . But unto us God revealed *them* through the Spirit." I Corinthians 2:9–10.

The speaking in parables, which is so often thought of as resorted to by Jesus as a means of making truths clear to the multitude, so that the simplest-minded could understand, is by his own statement on the subject to be interpreted otherwise. He uttered spiritual truths in such a way that spiritually-minded men might receive them, and we may, as an illustration of this, quote from the Sermon on the Mount, the definite injunction to keep sacred things sacred, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine." Matthew 7:6. Not only did the disciples ask why he spoke in parables, but they themselves did not understand the meaning of the parable of the sower, as is shown by the explanation of it which Jesus gave, and by his questions, Mark 4:13, "Know ye not this parable? And how shall ye know all the parables?", and by his further question, Matthew 13:51, "Have ye understood all these things? They say unto him, Yea." In Matthew 15:15, 16, Peter says to Jesus "Declare unto us the parable," and Jesus replies "Are ye also even yet without understanding?" The disciples misunderstood the remark of Jesus about the Temple, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up," John 2:19, but we cannot wonder that they did, when we read the context.

The teachings of Jesus were to be disseminated by

his disciples whom he was training for their work. There was something esoteric in this relationship of teacher and disciples, by which the latter were regarded as distinct from the world, an idea, which, as might be expected, we find emphasized in John. "Ye are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world"—John 15: 19. The likeness of relations in the natural world to those in the spiritual world are often at most only analogies. Paul meant this when he said, I Corinthians 2:14, "Now the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: . . . and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged." That Jesus always meant to reserve his meaning for the disciples only is by no means true, for the whole purpose of the "Sermon on the Mount," Matthew, chs. 5–7, is that the multitude should receive definite instruction. Although it was addressed specifically to the disciples, "the multitude were astonished at his teaching; for he taught them as one having authority and not as their scribes," 7:28, 29.

CHAPTER XIII

PROPHETS

THE prophets were the spokesmen of Jehovah to his people. Man has from the beginning believed that from time to time God speaks to him directly. The Bible mentions several ways in which such communications came:—

1. God spoke directly, as he did to Adam and Eve, Cain, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Elijah, and, in the New Testament, to Jesus, Peter, Paul, and John.

2. God appeared as the "Angel of Jehovah" and spoke, as he did to Abraham, Hagar, Moses, the children of Israel at Bochim, Gideon, and the wife of Manoah.

3. God spoke through angels, as he did to Lot and to Elijah and others, and in the New Testament to Zacharias, Mary, Cornelius, Paul and John.

4. God spoke through the Urim and Thummim in Aaron's breastplate.[1]

5. God spoke through dreams and visions as he did to Abimelech, Jacob, Samuel, Solomon, Daniel, Ezekiel, the prophets, and, in the New Testament, to Joseph, the Wise Men, Peter, Paul, John, Ananias, Cornelius.

[1] Urim and Thummim, literally "Lights" and "Perfections" were objects of some kind, perhaps precious stones, or lots, placed in the breastplate of Aaron and his successors as High Priests. They are mentioned but not defined or explained in Exodus 28:30, Leviticus 8:8, Numbers 27:21, Deuteronomy 33:8, Ezra 2:63, Nehemiah 7:65. In the last two passages the implication is clear that the Urim and Thummim had been lost. The actual use of them appears in several places in the historical books, e. g., I Samuel 14:36f. Note the marginal reading to verse 41, "Give a perfect lot." See also I Samuel 28:6.

6. God spoke through the prophets, to whom he spoke in visions, by angels, and directly.

7. God spoke through his Son in the New Testament. Hebrews 1:1–14.

With this belief that God speaks to men was also a belief that spirits may speak to men and that the souls of the dead may communicate with the living through some intermediary, such as the woman of Endor, through whom Saul talked with Samuel. The desire to know what the future holds in store is always present, and, upon this human weakness, frauds and fakirs grew rich in olden times as now. The true prophet of Jehovah was in constant competition with the false prophet, the sorcerer and the magician.

When Zacharias "prophesied" on the occasion of the circumcision and naming of John, Luke 1:67–79, he spoke of "the holy prophets that have been from of old." Abraham is called a prophet in Genesis 20:7. The Lord says to Moses:—

"I will send thee unto Pharoah, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel, out of Egypt." Exodus 3:10.

Moses doubts whether either the children of Israel or Pharaoh will listen to him, much less obey his commands, because he is "not eloquent" but "slow of speech, and of a slow tongue." Exodus 4:10. The Lord is angry at Moses and tells him that Aaron his brother who "can speak well" shall act as spokesman and Moses shall be to him instead of God "Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet." Exodus 7. 1. Moses is called a prophet in Deuteronomy 34:10. In this narrative we have the office and function of the

prophet clearly set forth. He was the spokesman of God, and his authority as such is indicated by the words "Thus saith the Lord" with which his message frequently began. He spoke not his own thoughts but God's thoughts, and this fact distinguishes his utterances from other speeches of men. A personal God spoke through a person to his children, and any through whom he spoke was, for the time being at least, a prophet. This personal relationship of Jehovah to his children is a remarkable feature of the Jewish conception of God. Anyone, no matter what his rank or class, might at any time be called to be a prophet of Jehovah. We read in I Kings 19:19 that Elijah found Elisha plowing with a yoke of oxen, which he immediately left when Elijah cast his mantle over him, thus calling him into service, as his companion, who was to be his great successor. Amos tells us that he was:—

"no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was a herdsman, and a dresser of sycomore-trees: and Jehovah took me from following the flock, and Jehovah said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel." Amos 7:14, 15.

Moses warns Israel, Deuteronomy 13:1, against false prophets, dreamers of dreams, who might even give "a sign or a wonder" as did the "wise men," "sorcerers" and "magicians of Egypt," Exodus 7:11, whose deeds and words were not from the Lord. Magicians, wizards, etc., are the subjects of warnings in the Old Testament and the New, as in I Samuel 15:23 and Galatians 5:20. Various kinds of persons who professed, and were believed to possess, supernatural powers are mentioned, such as sorcerers, magicians, wizards, enchanters, witches, those who possessed familiar spirits, etc. With all of these, the Israelites were forbidden to

have dealings, and that they believed in the reality of such supernatural powers is unquestioned. Acts 8:10, 11. Communion with spirits was professed in Egypt and Babylonia as well as in Palestine, and magic and prophetic power are found in open competition with each other in such contests as that of Moses and Aaron with the magicians of Egypt, Exodus 7:11, Elijah with the prophets of Baal, I Kings 18:19–40, Daniel with the Chaldeans, Daniel 2, Simon the Sorcerer with Philip, Acts 8:9–13, Paul with Elymas, Acts 13:8–11. Read also in Acts 19:11–20 how Paul was the means of driving exorcists away, or of causing them to give up their practices. There were prophets of other gods, and there were also false prophets of Jehovah, who may have been sincere, but mistaken. The people were warned against all such.

An extraordinary scene is described:—

"Now the king of Israel [Ahab] and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed in their robes, and they were sitting in an open place at the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets were prophesying before them." II Chronicles 18:9.

"All the prophets" foretold victory at Ramoth-Gilead, but Micaiah, who was hated by Ahab, because he always prophesied evil, foretold on this occasion the death of Ahab. The prophesy of Micaiah was in the form of two visions, one, the battle, the other a vision of what had occurred in the council of Jehovah in heaven at which the death of Ahab was deliberately planned. This scene resembles the opening scenes in Job:—

"And *Micaiah* said, Therefore hear ye the word of Jehovah: I saw Jehovah sitting upon his throne, and all the host of

heaven standing on his right hand and on his left. And Jehovah said, Who shall entice Ahab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead?" II Chronicles 18:18–19.

Here we have prophets of Jehovah to the number of four hundred, v.5, prophesying, but their prophecy is contradicted in part by that of Micaiah, who for the contradiction is attacked by Zedekiah who had prophesied victory, v. 10:—

"Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of Jehovah from me to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go into an inner chamber to hide thyself." II Chronicles 18:23, 24.

This account of the relations between Ahab and Micaiah, and the corresponding, almost identical, passage in I Kings, ch. 22, suggest interesting questions concerning prophets in Palestine. That there were professional prophets, and that there were bands of prophets, I Samuel 10:5, companies of prophets, I Samuel 19: 20, and groups calling themselves "sons of prophets," II Kings 2:3, we know. In I Kings 18:4 we read that Obadiah, who "feared Jehovah greatly" "took a hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave, and fed them with bread and water" to save them from starvation during a famine. Prophets were not only teachers of the law, but, as I Samuel 10:5 indicates, men upon whom "the spirit of Jehovah" came. An editorial note states that:—

"Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer; for he that is

now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer." I Samuel 9:9.

The following passage is of great interest in this connection:—

"Now David fled, and escaped, and came to Samuel to Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him. And he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth. And it was told Saul, saying, Behold David is at Naioth in Ramah. And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the Spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they also prophesied. And Saul sent messengers again the third time, and they also prophesied. . . . And he [Saul] went thither to Naioth in Ramah: and the Spirit of God came upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'" I Samuel 19:18–24.

In Numbers 11:26 we read of Eldad and Medad upon whom "the Spirit rested" . . . and they prophesied in the camp" A passage, in which groups of prophets figure, is found in II Kings 2, where "the sons of the prophets" tell Elisha, what he already knew, that Jehovah would take Elijah away that day. Upon Elisha descended the mantle of Elijah:—

"And when the sons of the prophets that were at Jericho over against him saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha." II Kings 2:15.

A little later on we find Elisha saying to Jehoram king of Israel:—

"What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother." II Kings 3:13.

Elijah had denounced the sin of Ahab, the father of Jehoram, and had been persecuted by Jezebel the wife of Ahab.

After the patriarchs and judges came kings, and with the kings came prophets, whose function was to advise or to rebuke the kings, priests, and people when they failed to follow the laws of Jehovah. Samuel rebuked the aged Eli, whose family of priests had fallen away from the proper worship of Jehovah, which had been allowed to decay, and became the spokesman of Jehovah to all Israel. The prosperity and happiness of the nations were shown by Samuel to depend upon the loyal worship of Jehovah. One of the most important functions of the prophet was that of preserving the religion of Israel from decay through neglect, and from corruption as a result of the introduction of foreign practices, or the worship of false gods. There are many passages dealing with this, one of the most suggestive being the following, which indicates the constant struggle that went on between those who were loyal to Jehovah and those, who, yielding to the desires of the people, or following their own desires, established idolatry:—

"For he [Manasseh] built again the high-places which Hezekiah, his father, had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them. And he built altars in the house of Jehovah, whereof Jehovah said, In Jerusalem will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Jehovah. And he made his son to pass through the fire, and practised augury, and used enchantments, and dealt with

them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of Jehovah, to provoke him to anger. And he set the graven image of Asherah, that he had made, in the house of which Jehovah said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name forever." II Kings 21:3–7.

Job declared of himself that he had not been secretly enticed to worship the sun and moon, the worship of which was introduced from Assyria, Job 31:26–27, and is referred to in Deuteronomy 4:19 and 17:3.

Four centuries earlier than Manasseh, Saul had "put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards out of the land," but had himself consulted the witch of Endor for the purpose of communicating with Samuel, after Jehovah had given him no answer "neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." I Samuel 28:6. This struggle against sorcery and idolatry of all kinds was practically ceaseless. In consequence of failure to recognize this condition of affairs, we often do not appreciate the reason for the vehemence of the prophets, who, as the spokesmen of Jehovah seem at times to have been almost the only men that kept alive faith in the living God:—

"Yet Jehovah testified unto Israel, and unto Judah, by every prophet, and every seer, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent you by my servants the prophets." II Kings 17:13.

The influence of the prophets on surrounding nations is shown by the story of Naaman the leper:—

"Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master, and honorable because by him Jehovah had given victory unto Syria: he was also a mighty man of valor, *but he was* a leper. And the Syrians had gone out in bands, and had brought away captive out of the land of Israel a little maiden; and she waited on Naaman's wife. And she said unto her mistress, Would that my lord were with the prophet [Elisha] that is in Samaria! then would he recover him of his leprosy." ". . . and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he was clean. And he returned to the man of God [Elisha], he and all his company, and came, and stood before him; and he said, Behold now, I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel." II Kings 5:1, 2, 3, 14, 15.

It is shown also by the story of Jonah, the only instance in which a prophet of Jehovah was sent to another people.[1]

The surrounding nations were given to all kinds of idolatry, sorcery, and wizardry, and these were continually appearing among the Israelites, displacing the worship of Jehovah. The numerous references to idols and idolatry throughout the Old Testament are protests against actual practices of the Jews. In the New Testament also, idols and idolatry are mentioned as things against which Christians must be on their guard. I John ends with "Little children guard yourselves from idols," 5:21, and I Corinthians, ch. 8, is a discussion of "things sacrificed to idols," concerning which there were doubts and questionings in the church at Corinth. Against a dark background must the prophet be studied. To kings and priests alike he delivered his message "Thus saith the Lord." His words were a con-

[1] See p. 172. The prophets spoke concerning the fates of other nations, as in Isaiah, chs. 13, 15, 19.

stant corrective and a powerful rebuke. The stories of the relations of Samuel to Saul, Nathan to David, Elijah and Micaiah to Ahab, Elisha to Jehu, Isaiah to Ahaz and Hezekiah are familiar. The prophet fearlessly rebuked the king. Not all of the great prophets left writings, and not all of the prophetic books bear the names of men who are mentioned in the historical writings. Some prophets left books that are no longer extant, among these was Nathan,[1] who played such an important part in the reign of David, and through whom Jehovah communicated to David the plan for building the Temple. II Samuel, ch. 7, I Chronicles, ch. 17.

Owing to the meaning now attached to the word "prophet," we often think of the function of the prophets in the Bible as being that of foretelling future events, which they frequently did, but this was only incidentally a part of their duties. In the New Testament, I Corinthians 14:3, Christian teachers are said to prophesy when they speak to men "edification, and exhortation and consolation." See also Acts 15:32. The fact that the early historical books are included by the Jews in the Prophets or second collection of scriptures indicates a broader meaning for the Hebrew *nabi*, which the Septuagint rendered *prophetes*. The *nabi* was a spokesman or representative, who came to the king or to the people with "Thus saith the Lord."

Comment on current events forms a considerable part of the utterances of the prophets. Obadiah, for example, is a denunciation of the Edomites for their cruelty and enmity against Jerusalem when the latter was suffering from invasion:—

[1] The book of Nathan is mentioned in I Chronicles 29:29, II Chronicles 9:29.

"But look not thou [Edom] on the day of thy brother in the day of his disaster,
And rejoice not over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction;
Neither speak proudly in the day of distress.
Enter not into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity;
Yea, look not thou on their affliction in the day of their calamity,
Neither lay ye *hands* on their substance in the day of their calamity.
And stand thou not in the crossway, to cut off those of his that escape;
And deliver not up those of his that remain in the day of distress.
For the day of Jehovah is near upon all the nations:
As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee;
Thy dealing shall return upon thine own head." Obadiah, vs. 12–15.

Haggai deals chiefly with the rebuilding of the Temple, which had been neglected, although the Jews had been back in Jerusalem for some years after the Babylonian captivity, and had rebuilt their own houses:—

"Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your ceiled houses, while this house lieth waste? . . . Thus saith Jehovah of hosts: Consider your ways. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith Jehovah. . . . Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing? . . . The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, saith Jehovah of hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith Jehovah of hosts." Haggai 1:4, 7, 8; 2:3, 9.

Amos denounces Israel for sins, and commands the people to return to Jehovah lest terrible calamities overtake them. Hosea pleads with Israel to return to righteousness. He emphasizes the love of Jehovah for his people even though, like an unfaithful wife, they have deserted him:—

"When Israel was a child, then I loved him,
And called my son out of Egypt. Hosea 11:1. . . .
O Israel, return unto Jehovah thy God;
For thou hast fallen by thine iniquity.
Take with you words, and return unto Jehovah:
Say unto him, 'Take away all iniquity,
And accept that which is good . . .
For in thee the fatherless findeth mercy.'" Hosea 14:1, 3.
"I will heal their backsliding,
I will love them freely;
For mine anger is turned away from him.
I will be as the dew unto Israel;
He shall blossom as the lily,
And cast forth his roots as Lebanon. . . .
They that dwell under his shadow shall return;
They shall revive as the grain,
And blossom as the vine:
The scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon." Hosea 14:4, 5, 7.

Nahum pronounces doom on Nineveh and declares that Judah shall prosper if her vows are performed:—

"And Jehovah hath given commandment concerning thee [Nineveh],
That no more of thy name be sown:
Out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image;
I will make thy grave; for thou art vile. Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings,

That publisheth peace!
Keep thy feasts, O Judah,
Perform thy vows;
For the wicked one shall no more pass through thee;
He is utterly cut off." Nahum 1:14, 15.

The utterances of the prophets were influenced by the conditions which they saw and foresaw among the people. To the sinner the prophet spoke words of warning. To the righteous words of encouragement. To all, words of invitation to faith in the justice and mercy of Jehovah. Distress and calamity are the direct result of neglect of Jehovah's commandments, with punishment and national destruction ahead, unless sin and idolatry are abandoned and the worship of Jehovah restored. The prophets uttered religious teachings of a more deeply spiritual kind than even those of the objective, symbolic ritual of the Temple. The moral government of Jehovah, which cannot be evaded, is the truth upon which they are ever insisting. Things happen because Jehovah wills, and all men are directly answerable to him for their conduct. The services of the ritual were largely penitential, to secure forgiveness for sin committed. The message of the prophets is to inspire men so that they will not commit sin, by warning them of the consequences, and by reciting to them the happiness that may be theirs if they will only remain faithful to Jehovah.

The great event that divides Jewish history into two parts is the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B. C., and the captivity, which did not end until 536 B. C. when the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem, as told in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Pre-exilic and post-exilic are terms ap-

plied to writings of the Old Testament, particularly the prophets. Some of the books cannot be dated with accuracy, while others indicate clearly the time to which they are to be assigned. An instance in which one book of prophecy is quoted in another in the Old Testament is Jeremiah 26:18 where Micah 3:12 is quoted and named. Jeremiah 25:11 is quoted and the prophet named in Daniel 9:2, a book of the Writings.[1]

The pre-exilic prophets were Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah. The post-exilic were, Ezekiel, Daniel, Obadiah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi.

Doubt is expressed by some as to whether Jonah may not be a late book about an ancient prophet, and whether Daniel is really prophecy, or simply history written in the form of prophecy, and whether Joel is pre-exilic. In fact, there are many differences of opinion among scholars as to events referred to by the prophets, but the consensus of opinion is represented in the grouping given. The fact that Daniel was placed by the Jews not among the Prophets but in the Writings or third collection, although Ezekiel is among the Prophets, may indicate that Daniel was regarded by them as a later book.

The books of the prophets contain history, oracles or burdens, poems, and prayers. Isaiah divides at ch. 40, the portion, chs. 40–66 consisting of a series of visions constituting a dramatic poem, "The Servant of the Lord," or "Israel's Restoration." This division of the book is referred to "Second Isaiah," as distinguished from "First Isaiah," chs. 1–35, a collection of

[1] Instances of the use of the same material, or of earlier material, are found in Jeremiah 48:29, 30 and Isaiah 16:6; Jeremiah 49:27 and Amos 1:4; Isaiah 2:4, Micah 4:3, with which compare also Joel 3:10.

prophecies or "burdens" dealing not only with Judah and Israel, but also with other nations. Between these two parts of the book are some historical chapters, 36–39, containing the same matter as II Kings 18:13–20:19. In this passage in Isaiah is preserved a poem of Hezekiah that is not found elsewhere. This historical passage related events in which Isaiah was involved. In a similar way Jeremiah, ch. 52, was taken from II Kings 24:18–25:29, because Jeremiah sent to Babylon by Seraiah a book "even all these words that are written concerning Babylon" and commanded him to read it in Babylon and then cast it into the Euphrates. Other books of the prophets contain collections, and are not continuous works. The prayer of Jonah and the prayer of Habakkuk are poems quite distinct from their setting. The phrases of Jonah are nearly all found in the Psalms. The Lamentations is a group of five poems, each of which is a lament over the calamities that had fallen upon Judah, and Jerusalem.[1] The first four are alphabetical.

Much of the writings of the prophets is concerned directly with the destruction of Jerusalem and the events which immediately preceded or followed it, all being attributed to the sin of Israel and the consequent displeasure of Jehovah. Isaiah and Jeremiah cry out against abuses of all kinds, which were to lead to national calamity. Daniel and Ezekiel write in captivity in Babylonia. Haggai and Zechariah speak of the return and the rebuilding of the Temple, of which Ezra and Nehemiah contain accounts.

The reëstablishment of the Jewish state and religion

[1] There is in the Old Testament no statement as to the authorship of these poems, but they have been attributed to Jeremiah. The Septuagint contains a prefatory note which states that "Jeremiah sat weeping and lamented this lament over Jerusalem."

after the long captivity was no easy task. The prophets then, as at other times, acted as the conscience of the nation. What they said was to their own generation, though often of general applicability, because voicing moral truths. At times, it is not easy to separate the eternal and permanent from the temporary and transient, and it is quite possible to read into a prophet's words, meanings of which he was himself unaware.

Some of the prophecies are in the form of visions or revelations, some are simple messages, others are burdens, or oracles, such as are found in Nahum, Habakkuk, Malachi and the first part of Isaiah. Some are dreams or visions at night, as in Daniel and Zechariah. In all cases the prophets believed themselves to be the bearers of messages from Jehovah to the people or to individuals. Sometimes the prophet delivered a message in words communicated to him by Jehovah. Sometimes he described what he saw in a vision.

The Hebrew collection of the Prophets closes with Malachi, and that book ends with a prophecy of the return of Elijah the prophet:—

"Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet
Before the great and terrible day of Jehovah come.
And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children,
And the heart of the children to their fathers;
Lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." Malachi 3:23–24.

It is the fulfilment of this prophecy that is associated in the New Testament with the preaching of John the Baptist, who came, like an Old Testament prophet, saying:—

"Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Matthew 3:2.

and who was himself identified by Jesus, who quotes Malachi 3:1, as the messenger of God sent to prepare the way:—

"And if ye are willing to receive *it*, this is Elijah, that is to come." Matthew 11:14.

John had said to the messengers of the priests that he was not Elijah. John 1:21. The angel who foretold to Zacharias the birth of John quotes from Malachi 4:6, and says that John shall go "in the spirit and power of Elijah." Luke 1:16, 17. The coming of Elijah is spoken of in Mark 9:4–13, after he had appeared with Moses on the Mount of Transfiguration. Moses and Elijah had both been taken away by Jehovah. They both reappeared.

Both Jesus and John are called prophets, Luke 7:16, 26, the people saying, after the raising of the son of the widow of Nain:—

"A great prophet is arisen among us: and God hath visited his people." Luke 7:16.

After the crucifixion Jesus is referred to as:—

"Jesus the Nazarene, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people." Luke 24:19.

The woman at the well said to Jesus:—

"I perceive thou art a prophet." John 4:19.

After the miracle of feeding the five thousand the people said:—

"This is of a truth the prophet that cometh into the world." John 6:14,

a statement repeated in John 7:40, but the truth of it is questioned by the officers, John 7:52, who declare that "out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." The unusual words and deeds of both John the Baptist and Jesus caused them to be regarded as prophets, and in Matthew 13:57, Mark 6:4 and John 4:44, Jesus quotes the proverb:—

"A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house."

In the case of John the Baptist it was evidently his preaching of repentance that caused him to be called a prophet. With Jesus it was his miracles, as well as his teachings. Both of these were characteristic of the Old Testament prophets, who not only preached, but also performed signs and wonders. The belief of the Evangelists, and of early Christians in general, that the coming of John and Jesus was the fulfilment of the prophecy with which the Prophets closed, is the connecting link between the Old Testament and the New. The belief that all Messianic prophecy was fulfilled, or would be fulfilled, in Jesus, and that he was the Christ predicted of old, made one, in the minds of Christians of the early and succeeding centuries, the sixty-six books, thirty-nine of the Jewish scriptures of the Old Covenant or Testament, and twenty-seven of the Christian scriptures of the New, which ultimately came to be known as the Bible.

CHAPTER XIV

LETTERS AND HOMILIES

The Bible is a book, the contents of which are extraordinarily adapted to being read aloud. The short simple sentences, the picturesque language, the story-telling, the rhythm of the poetry and also of the prose, even in the translation, are such that the mind can easily grasp and remember the meaning, and the imagination reproduce the scene. Ancient writings existed in only a limited, though sometimes considerable, number of copies, and knowledge of their contents on the part of the many was obtained solely by hearing them expounded. This is true of the Old Testament scriptures, which were read to the people as Moses read the Law, Exodus 24:4–7, "And Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah. . . . And he took the book of the covenant and read in the audience of the people," and as Jesus in the synagogue read from Isaiah, Luke 4: 16, 17, and it is true also of the New Testament scriptures which were read aloud in the churches and also privately, I Timothy 4:13, " . . . give heed to reading, to exhortation, to teaching," and Revelation 1:3, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of the prophecy, and keep the things which are written therein." Dr. Moffatt well says:—"This practice of reading aloud the scriptures, even before they were scriptures in the canonical sense of the term, helped to determine insensibly their literary form." [1]

[1] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 55.

But the uses to which the Christian scriptures were to be put determined also in a very specific way the style in which they appear. The dialogue, the address and the epistle were all known and used by the early Greek rhetoricans. The personal relation and appeal of these forms was particularly suitable for the Christian writings and we find in the Gospels examples of the use of dialogue and address to make vivid what is said.

With regard to the probable history of their composition, we must remember that historical books, intended by their authors as permanent records, differ from letters, because the latter are almost necessarily written, as many of Paul's undoubtedly were, with a kind of emotional earnestness occasioned by the incidents or happenings which called them forth. They are most of them real letters. Whatever may be true of the form in which we have them, it is practically certain that the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles represent the calmer mood of the historian while many of the Epistles represent earnest, at times argumentative, presentation of ideas for the consideration of particular individuals or groups. They contain no narrative.

In the New Testament, twenty-one books are letters to groups of Christians, to Christians in general, or to individuals.[1] Of these, thirteen are commonly

[1] The Epistles, which constitute such a large and important part of the New Testament are not the only examples of letters preserved in the Bible. Just as a letter to Gentiles in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia is found in Acts 15: 23–29, a letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix in Acts 23:26–30, and a letter commending Phœbe is appended to the Epistle to the Romans, of which it is not really a part, so a number of letters are included in books of the Old Testament. Such letters are:—A letter of David, II Samuel 11:15, letters of Jezebel, I Kings 21:9–10, letter of the King of Syria, II Kings 5:6, letters of Jehu, mentioned II Kings 10:1–3, letter of Sennacherib, II Kings 19:9–14, Isaiah 37:10, letters between Solomon and Huram, II Chronicles 2:1–16, letter from Elijah to Jehoram, II Chronicles 21:12–15, letters concerning the rebuilding of the Temple and of Jerusalem, Ezra 4:7–23, 5:6–17, 7:11–26,

attributed to the authorship of Paul, two to Peter, two to John the Presbyter, one to John the Apostle, one to James, and one to Jude. One, the Epistle to the Hebrews, is anonymous, perhaps, because the usual opening lines, which would contain the name of the author, as in other Epistles, are missing. This Epistle which is more of a homily than a letter, is usually attributed to Paul, but concerning this and others there are differences of opinion as to both authorship and date.[1] The Revelation of John opens and closes with the forms of address and salutation of an epistle, but both are lacking in I John, which is a homily, or tract, rather than a letter. The Epistles differ greatly in contents and style, treating as they do of different subjects, and for different purposes.

The Pauline Epistles

Probably the earliest Epistle written by Paul, is I Thessalonians, which contains expressions of gratitude for the loyalty and faithfulness of the young

Nehemiah 6:5–8, letter from Jeremiah to the captives in Babylon, Jeremiah 29:1–32.

Of these letters, two are messages from Jehovah, delivered in this way by the prophets Elijah and Jeremiah respectively. In the Apocrypha are a number of letters such as the letter from the Syrian officials to Darius, I Esdras, 6:7, letters of Artaxerxes, Esther 13:1–7, 16:1–24, letter of Jeremy, Baruch, ch. 6, letters to Jonathan, I Maccabees 10:3, 17–20, letter of Demetrius to the Jews, I Maccabees 10:25–45, letter of Lucius to Ptolemy, I Maccabees 15:16–24, letter from Jews in Jerusalem to those in Egypt, II Maccabees 1.

[1] Origen (d.253? A. D.) said of it:—"If then any church professes this Epistle as being Paul's, let it have credit for the circumstance; for not in vain have the ancients handed it down as Paul's; but who wrote the Epistle God alone knows the truth." Tertullian (d. 230? A. D.) thought Barnabas the author. Clement of Alexandria (d. 220? A. D.) believed Paul to be the author, and it is usually attributed to Paul. The authorship of II Peter is also disputed, in spite of the opening verse. For a discussion of the evidence regarding the authorship and dates of the various books of the New Testament see James Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, under the accounts of the separate books."

Church under persecution, and words of encouragement and exhortation to mutual love and to still further development in the new religious life. The second coming of Christ occupies the author's mind as he writes, and the reunion of Christ and the Church is set forth likewise in the II Thessalonians, which follows closely the thought of the earlier Epistle.

Romans, the first Epistle in order, as they are arranged in the New Testament, was not called forth, as were some, by dissensions or evils within the Church, but is a general presentation of Christianity as broader than Judaism in its reaching out to all nations, to Gentile as well as Jew. "The just shall live by faith." The relation of faith to law is shown. Under the law all have sinned, but God has in Christ provided righteousness, which, by faith, becomes the sinner's, who is thereby justified before the law.

In I Corinthians Paul deals with the relation of Christians to the customs and practices of paganism, including idolatry, and with important questions of morality and personal conduct. He treats too of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which it was evidently hard for the Corinthians to accept, as it was for the Athenians, Acts 17:32. His argument turns on the resurrection of Christ as conclusive proof of the doctrine. II Corinthians is in three distinct parts, the first of which, 1:1–7:16, is a thanksgiving for deliverance from serious illness, and a vindication of himself against the charge of having been unfaithful in not coming to Corinth at the time he had promised, 1:17–24; the second part, 8:1–9:15, is an argument for "ministering to the saints," a discussion of the duty of giving; the third part, 10:1–13:14, is a vigorous justification of his work as an Apostle.

In Galatians Paul expresses his wonder that these Christians should have been led astray by false brethren. Faith and works, grace and law, are the subjects. It is one of the most vehement of Paul's utterances. It includes practically the whole range of Christian doctrine and brings out with great distinctness the idea of the oneness of the believer with Christ, a unity set forth in John under the figure of vine and the branches.

Ephesians, like Galatians and Colossians, is comprehensive in its teachings. The contrast between the new life and the old is drawn, and the essential unity of the believer with Christ is presented under the figure of the body and its members, 4:25, "We are members one of another." Christ is the head. 4:15. Like the Roman soldier, the Christian is armed for attack and for defense. "Put on the whole armor of God." 6:11. In style and language, as well as in thought, Ephesians deserves the opinion of Coleridge that it is "one of the divinest compositions of man." [1]

Philippians explains the advantages of discipleship even though there be hardships and deprivations as a result of it:—

"Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men. . . ." Philippians 2:5–7.

To the Colossians Paul wrote praising their faithfulness and urging them to "walk worthily of the Lord" and to increase "in the knowledge of God," 1:10:—

[1] S. T. Coleridge, *Table Talk*.

"Set your mind on the things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth." Colossians 3:2.

Timothy was Paul's "true child in the faith," I Timothy 1:1, and the two Epistles addressed to him are pastoral, dealing with the care of the Church, especially in the matter of opposing and counteracting false doctrine such as that of the Gnostics and other heretics:—

"O Timothy, guard that which is committed unto *thee*, turning away from the profane babblings and oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith." I Timothy 6:20–21.

"For the time will come when they will not endure the sound doctrine; but having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts; and will turn away their ears from the truth, and turn aside unto fables. But be thou sober in all things, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist, fulfil thy ministry." II Timothy 4:3–5.

The pastoral to Titus, who was in charge of the church in Crete, treats of organization and discipline. Each must live his life according to the Christian ideal. The aged must be temperate, grave, reverent in demeanor, teachers of that which is good. The younger likewise must show themselves "an ensample of good works":—

"For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto him-

self a people for his own possession, zealous of good works." Titus 2:11–14.

This passage has been called an epitome of the teachings of the New Testament.

Philemon is an Epistle of a purely personal kind concerning Onesimus, a slave, who had evidently not only deserted, but also probably, robbed his master, Philemon vs. 15, 18. Paul sends him back and asks that he be received "no longer as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved." . . . "receive him as myself."

An Anonymous Treatise

The Epistle to the Hebrews is a treatise, evidently addressed to those Hebrews, who had become Christians, but were in danger of reverting to Judaism. The author sets forth at length the superiority of the Christian dispensation of grace to the old one of the law. Chapter 11 is a magnificent presentation of the triumphs of faith, exemplified in the history of the Jews as set forth in the scriptures. Christ is higher than the angels, higher than Moses, higher than the High Priest:—

"God having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in *his* Son." Hebrews 1:1, 2.

The General Epistles

We now come to a group of seven short Epistles called "General" or "Catholic," because addressed to Christians everywhere, instead of to particular groups or individuals, as were the Pauline Epistles. The first

of these, James, is addressed to "the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion," and it has therefore been thought that the words are intended especially for Jewish Christians, but there is nothing in the Epistle that is not equally applicable to Gentiles, although Abraham is called "our father," and there is presupposed a familiarity with the "scriptures." James sets forth the doctrine of "works," as Paul sets forth the doctrine of "faith" and this is frequently referred to as due to a difference between the Christian doctrine of James and that of Paul. It is rather a difference of emphasis, for both teach that faith must manifest itself in mode of life:—

"Ye see that by works a man is justified, and not only by faith." James 2:24.

"Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, *and* to keep oneself unspotted from the world." James 1:27.

"The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." Galatians 5:22.

One of the most interesting features of James is that it belongs in the class of the wisdom books.

I Peter and I John were accepted early by the Church, but the authenticity of the other "Catholic" Epistles was questioned for some time. The two Epistles that bear the name of Peter differ greatly, so greatly that II Peter is usually considered by scholars to belong to a date later than the time of Peter. I Peter, written probably from Rome, called figuratively "Babylon," 5:13, to Christians in Asia Minor, 1:1, is characteristic of Peter, as we know him in the Gospels and Acts.

There is vigor and enthusiasm shown in every line. The joy that is derived from the Christian hope is emphasized, and the Epistle begins and ends with references to the glory of the Christian inheritance reserved in heaven, 1:4, and the "eternal glory in Christ," 5:10, "that shall be revealed," 5:1.

II Peter deals with the subject of false teachers who seek to corrupt the Church. It is better not to have known Christ, than, having known him, to "turn back from the holy commandment delivered unto them," 2:21:—

"The day of the Lord will come as a thief." II Peter 3:10.

"Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for these things, give diligence that ye may be found in peace, without spot and blameless in his sight." II Peter 3:14.

The fact that the Epistles of Paul are referred to as "scriptures," as they are in 3:16, would indicate a somewhat late date for II Peter as would also the apparent connection between it and Jude. Compare II Peter 2:1–3:3 with Jude.

I John, from its philosophy, and particularly from its opening reference to the "Word," connects itself closely with the Gospel of John. It is not a letter, lacking the customary address and salutation at beginning and end, but is probably a homily or short sermon written to be sent around and read to the various churches, in order to strengthen their faith, and to counteract heretical and hostile teachings which were likely to affect them, 2:18–29:—

"Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us that we should be called children of God." I John 3:1.

Of the three Epistles which bear the name of John, the Second and Third were long in gaining a secure place in the canon. They are both attributed to John the Elder.

II John is probably not, as might be supposed from its opening lines, a personal letter, but is addressed to some Christian group under the title the "elect lady." It warns against deceivers or false teachers who would draw Christians away from their faith. That a church, and not an individual, is addressed is indicated by the use of plural pronouns as:—

"Look to yourselves, that ye lose not the things which we have wrought, but that ye receive a full reward." II John, v. 8.

III John is a personal letter to Gaius, praising him for his faithful service in receiving and helping brethren and strangers, and setting them forth on their way. A certain "Diotrephes who loveth to have the preëminence" is referred to as a contrast to Gaius, for Diotrephes will neither receive the brethren, nor permit others to do so.

Jude, the most important ideas of which, as has been said above, appear also in II Peter 2:1–3:3, has the distinction of being the only book in the New Testament which quotes by name from a non-canonical book. In II Timothy, 3:8, a story about Jannes and Jambres is referred to, but the source not named.[1] Jude quotes Enoch, and also speaks of a contest between Michael and the devil over the body of Moses, a story said by Origen to be taken from the Assumption of Moses.[2] Jude exhorts all Christians to:—

[1] Jewish tradition says that they were the magicians of Exodus 7:11.
[2] See above, p. 47.

"contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints." Jude, v. 3.

Swift destruction will come upon sinful and unfaithful men, and Christians must build themselves up on their most holy faith:—

"looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." Jude, v. 21.

The Epistles are expositions, or interpretations, by their authors, of what they believed to be the teachings of Christ, for the edification of the early groups of his followers. The expectation that he would soon return to take his followers to himself, and to judge the world, is clearly expressed in a number of passages, and Christians are exhorted to grow in faith, to manifest their faith by their works, and so to be ready when the Lord should return.

CHAPTER XV

APOCALYPSES

Apocalyptic literature, of which a number of specimens have come down to us, was a recognized form in which were expressed visions of the future, or, under the guise of visions, interpretations of the present or the past.[1] To the modern reader the figures and symbols seem strange and remote, and the interpretation difficult, but to the Jews and early Christians, for whom they were written, the language and the ideas were not unfamiliar.

In the Old Testament are the books of Ezekiel and Daniel, in the Apocrypha is II Esdras, and in the New Testament, the Revelation of John. Ezekiel and Daniel, in visions of symbolic meaning, tell of events that have occurred, or were to occur, on this earth. Symbolic visions are found also in other prophetic books, such as the rod of an almond tree, and the boiling caldron of Jeremiah, the locusts, the fire, and the great deep, of Amos; the man on the red horse, the four horns, the man with the measuring line, the golden candlestick, and the flying roll of Zechariah.

Revelation is concerned partly with events on this earth, and partly with events that are to occur and conditions that are to exist in a new heaven and a new earth, after the old have passed away. II Esdras con-

[1] For a discussion of this see S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 488–515; and J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 483–514.

tains symbolic visions, similar to those of Ezekiel and Daniel, one of which is an exposition of Daniel's vision of the fourth kingdom, II Esdras 12:11, 12, Daniel 7:23. The collection of writings known by the name of Enoch, and such books as the Apocalypses of Baruch, the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, are other examples that have been preserved, and there were many that have been lost. The Revelation of Peter is mentioned in the Muratorian fragment as received by some in the early Church as authentic, and the fragment states that the Shepherd of Hermas, another apocalyptic book, was for private reading only. Empires are symbolized as stars, images, beasts, angels, and the interpretation is sometimes given, and sometimes not. Apocalypses nearly all have the idea of finality, which is inseparable from the thought of a day of judgment, or a day of the Lord.

The conception of Jehovah seated on his throne and holding a council in heaven, or pronouncing judgment, appears in the opening of Job, and in I Kings 22:19–22, II Chronicles 18:18, Isaiah 6:1, Ezekiel 1:26, as the vision of the great white throne appears later in Revelation, 4:2. Theophanies or appearances of Jehovah are found described in such passages as Habakkuk, ch. 3, Psalm 144:5, Isaiah 64:1, Jude, v. 14, all of which refer to a coming of Jehovah to judge the earth. In Matthew, ch. 24, Mark, ch. 13, Luke, ch. 21, and in I and II Thessalonians, we have accounts of what is to happen at the second coming of Christ. Jewish apocalypses looked forward to a Messiah who should make all things right. Revelation treats of a second coming of Jesus as Messiah in glory. There must be wars, famines, disease, death, sufferings of all kinds, but all come as

part of the purpose of God, which will ultimately work out into happiness for the righteous. Jehovah wills these things, though man cannot understand them. Compare Isaiah, ch. 35 with Revelation, ch. 21, as expressions of belief that the righteous are ultimately to enjoy the eternal personal presence of God:—

"Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come *with* vengeance, *with* the recompense of God; he will come and save you. . . .
And the ransomed of Jehovah shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Isaiah 35:4, 10.

In Revelation are similar expressions concerning the new Jerusalem:—

"And I heard a great voice out of the throne saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples, and God himself shall be with them, *and be* their God: and he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more; neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain, any more." Revelation 21:3, 4.

Back of all of the apocalyptic literature, and also derived from it, there were in the minds of the people conceptions of God on a throne in heaven, surrounded by beings of the various orders of the celestial hierarchy, classified later by Dionysius the Areopagite (circa 500 A. D.) in his *De Hierarchia Celesti*, as 1. Seraphim, Isaiah 6:1–4. 2. Cherubim, Genesis 3:24. 3. Thrones, Colossians 1:16. 4. Dominions, Colossians 1:16. 5. Virtues, or Mights, Ephesians 1:21. 6. Powers, Colossians 1:16. 7. Principalities, Colossians 1:16. 8. Archangels I

Thessalonians 4:16, Jude, v. 9, where Michael, mentioned first in Daniel 10:13, is called "archangel." 9. Angels, Genesis 19:1. The Secrets of Enoch, ch. 20, gives ten ranks of heavenly beings.[1] Dante, *Paradiso*, c. 28, follows the order as given by Dionysius, and disapproves of a different arrangement given by Gregory the Great, *Hom.* 34:7. In Enoch and the Secrets of Enoch,[2] we have angelology set forth at considerable length. In Hermes Trismegistus we have mention of the "seven administrators" probably the same as the "seven angels" of Revelation 8:2, and the "seven holy angels" mentioned in Tobit 12:15. The mention of the different orders of heavenly beings by Paul, in Ephesians 1:21, and Colossians 1:16, shows how general the conception was in the first century.

The statements in II Peter 2:4 and Jude, v. 6 about angels that had sinned and been consigned to chains and darkness, awaiting judgment, are made as a matter of common knowledge and belief, but there is no other information on the subject in the Bible. The Talmud contains the story of the angels who sinned. Enoch 69: 1–12, gives the names of the fallen angels, and speaks of a number of "satans" similar to the one mentioned in Job:—

"And I heard the fourth voice fending off the satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth." Enoch 40:7.

One of the chiefs of the bad angels was Gadreel, "and he led astray Eve."[3] The names of the Seven

[1] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, edited by R. H. Charles. The book was written at the beginning of the Christian era.

[2] See *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, edited by R. H. Charles.

[3] Passages in the New Testament, which indicate a general belief in a

Archangels are given also, Enoch 20. Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqael, Gabriel, Remiel. In the Bible, Michael is mentioned in Daniel 10:13, 21, 12:1, Jude, v. 9, and Revelation 12:7. Gabriel is mentioned in Daniel 8:16, 9:21, Luke 1:19, 26. "Raphael, one of the seven holy angels," was the companion of Tobias in Tobit 5:4, 12:15. Uriel was sent to Esdras, II Esdras 4:1. We read in Enoch:—

"And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel . . . and Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them unto the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth." Enoch 54:4–6.

This is similar to the binding of the Devil and casting him into the lake of fire told about in Revelation 20:10.

That the righteous dead are never more to be troubled by sin is the idea of Enoch 100:4, 5, as it is of Revelation 20:6. A distinction is made between the resurrection of the righteous and that of the unrighteous, and this appears in the passages referred to. In Enoch sinners will have been punished before the righteous rise:—

"And the Most High will arise on that day of judgment,
To execute great judgment amongst sinners.
And over all the righteous and holy he will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels,
To guard them as the apple of an eye,

multiplicity of evil spirits are those concerning demoniacal possession, and particularly the references to "Beelzebub the prince of the demons." Matthew 12:24, Mark 3:22, Luke 11:15.

Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear." Enoch 100:4, 5.

In Revelation Christ will take to himself the righteous who shall reign with him a thousand years, after which shall be the general judgment:—

"And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. The rest of the dead lived not until the thousand years should be finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: over these the second death hath no power . . . This is the second death, even the lake of fire." Revelation 20:4, 5, 6, 14.

The first resurrection is mentioned in II Maccabees:—

"As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection unto life." II Maccabees 7:14.

The war in heaven described in Revelation 12:7 between Michael and his angels against the Dragon, or Old Serpent, or Devil, or Satan, (not the Satan of Job 1:6, I Chronicles 21:1, Zechariah 3:1, who was simply "the adversary," one of "the satans," mentioned by Enoch, and was admitted to the presence of God) is not the war or rebellion in heaven referred to in II Peter 2:4 and Jude v.6. Sin had evidently entered heaven through the satans, who had corrupted the angels. These had then taken wives of the daughters of men, and begotten giants, as told in Genesis 6:1–4. This story is told in more detail in Enoch 15, 16, 69. For sin these angels were to be punished at the great judgment. It is that which is described in Revelation. Familiar then, to men of the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, were these ideas of the

Revelation. There was to be a great battle, as a result of which, evil would be permanently restrained. Satan was to be bound for a thousand years and then, after a brief period of freedom, cast into the lake of fire for ever and ever. Revelation 20:1–10, Enoch 21. The conception of the millennium appears in the Secrets of Enoch 32:2–33:2. The idea of it in Revelation was probably familiar to Jews and Christians, as part of beliefs derived from the interpretation of the story of Creation. The millennium was to follow the end of the history of this world, as the Sabbath of rest followed the six days of Creation.

The Jews and early Christians believed that there were seven heavens, and among the Babylonians there were also seven hells. This sevenfold division is implied in many places in the Bible. Such expressions as the "heaven of heavens," Deuteronomy 10:14, I Kings 8:27 and Psalm 148:4, probably have such an idea back of them. Common expressions to-day are "the seventh heaven," and "the nethermost hell," which are reminiscences of old conceptions. In the New Testament we read:—

"I know a man . . . such a one caught up even to the third heaven . . . caught up into Paradise." II Corinthians 12:2, 4.

In the Secrets of Enoch, 8, 9, Paradise is said to be situated in the third heaven, just as it is in II Corinthians, and is described as a place:—

". . . prepared for the righteous who endure every kind of attack in their lives from those who afflict their souls: who turn away their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgment, and also give bread to the

hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and assist the orphans who are oppressed, and who walk without blame before the face of the Lord, and serve him only. For them this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance."

With this compare:—

"Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Matthew 25:34–36.

With these passages place the following:—

"And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Luke 23:42, 43.

"To him that overcometh, to him will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the Paradise of God." Revelation 2:7.

In I Peter 3:19 we read that Christ, after the crucifixion, "preached unto the spirits in prison," a statement which commentators connect with Jude, v. 6 and II Peter 2:4, though they by no means agree as to the meaning. The Hebrews believed that departed spirits went to Sheol until the judgment. Enoch was taken by "two men very tall" such as he had "never seen on earth." "Their faces shone like the sun." "Their dress had the appearance of feathers." "Their hands [were] whiter than snow." [1] They showed him each of the seven heavens. In the first was a great sea; in the second, prisoners awaiting the "eternal judgment"

[1] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 1–20.

(see II Peter 2:4. "Angels . . . reserved unto judgment"); in the third a Paradise, or garden, with a tree of life in the midst (see II Corinthians 12:2, 4, and Revelation 2:7, quoted above); in the fourth, the course of the Sun and Moon; in the fifth the "satans" who had caused the original rebellion in heaven, as a result of which the angels confined in the second heaven fell; in the sixth were seven bands of angels bright and glorious; in the seventh heaven were the Lord on his throne, the great archangels, lordships, principalities, powers, cherubim, seraphim, thrones, and the ophannim "full of eyes." This was the "heaven of heavens," and the "ophannim" are evidently the four creatures described in Ezekiel:—

"And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about. . . ." Ezekiel 10:12.

And in Revelation:—

"Four living creatures full of eyes before and behind." "Four living creatures having each one of them six wings, are full of eyes round about and within." Revelation 4:6, 8.

The description of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven may be compared with Isaiah, ch. 6; Ezekiel, ch. 1; Revelation, ch. 4. In the Testament of Levi the fifth heaven contained angels who praise God by night and are silent in the day, a different group from those assigned to the fifth heaven in the Secrets of Enoch.

The close relation between the apocalyptic literature in general and the books of the prophets is manifest. The contents of each is a message of some kind from Jehovah to men, imparted supernaturally through a

chosen agent. The Revelation of John contains conceptions that are found in the Old Testament, such as "the Son of Man," Daniel 7:13, Revelation 14:14; the "Ancient of Days," and "the great white throne," Daniel 7:9, Revelation 20:11, Ezekiel 10:1. There are also in Revelation suggestions of the scene of the Transfiguration, Matthew 17:1–13, Mark 9:2–13, Luke 9:28–36. The face shining "as the sun," and the garments "white as the light," were seen by John, Revelation 1:16, as they had been seen on the mount by Peter, James and John. The measuring of the Temple with a reed in Revelation 11:1, 2, is an idea that is elaborated in Ezekiel, chs. 40–42, in the vision of the man with the measuring rod. In Zechariah 2:1 is another man with a measuring line preparing for rebuilding the city of Jerusalem, and the figure is used also in II Samuel 8:2 and II Kings 21:13. These references to other apocalypses and to extraordinary visions recorded in the Old Testament and in the New have been made here simply for the purpose of showing that the figures and language of Revelation, as of the symbolism of other parts of the Bible, were familiar to the Jews and early Christians, and are to be found also in ancient writings not included in the Scriptures.

Ezekiel is a book of prophecy, and not an apocalypse, but it is mentioned here because of its conceptions and symbolic visions.

Ezekiel

The book of Ezekiel belongs to the period of the Exile. It consists of three parts. The contents deal with the fall of Jerusalem, the punishment of other nations, the return to Jerusalem, and the reinsti-

tution of the nation, and of the Temple worship. Symbolic vision and allegory characterize the book. The divisions are:—

1. The impending fall of Jerusalem. chs. 1–24.
2. Prophecies against other nations. chs. 25–32.
3. The restoration of Israel. chs. 33–48.

Daniel

To the book of Daniel there are two distinct parts, the first, chs. 1–6, being the story of Daniel at the court of Babylon. This part closes with the words:—

"So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." Daniel 6:28.

In the first six chapters, the story of Daniel is told in the third person, while the second part of the book, chs. 7–12, containing the dreams and visions of Daniel, is in the first person. This is probably because the revelations to Daniel are described by him as things he himself saw.[1] Daniel, like Ezekiel, is dated in the opening verses by its author as having been written during the Exile. The fact that Ezekiel appears in the Hebrew Scriptures among the Prophets, while Daniel is in the Writings, is interpreted by scholars as having a direct bearing upon the date of its writing. This is important in connection with any attempt to interpret the book.

[1] A linguistic peculiarity of Daniel, the reason for which is not known, though several theories have been advanced to explain it, is that 1:1–2:4a, is in Hebrew, 2:4b–7:28 in Aramaic and 8:1–12:13 in Hebrew. The Aramaic begins where the words of the Chaldeans are quoted, "O King live forever," etc.

II Esdras

To many readers of the Bible the books of the Apocrypha are not familiar. An outline is given therefore of II Esdras, an apocalyptic book. In it, 12:10–39, is found an interpretation of "the fourth kingdom" "which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel."

1. A rebuke to the people for their sins, in spite of God's care over them throughout their history. 1:1–2:41.
2. The vision of Mount Sion and the multitude of the faithful departed receiving crowns and palms from the Son of God. 2:42–48.
3. The complaint of Esdras. God spares wicked men. 3:1–36.
4. The answer to the complaint. Uriel tells Esdras that if he cannot weigh fire, measure the wind, or recall a day that is past, he cannot comprehend "the way of the Most High." The fable of the trees, the fire, the sea, and the sand. 4:1–21.
5. Uriel answers the questions of Esdras as to the flourishing of evil, and the duration of time. Few will be saved. 4:22–9:25.
6. The visions in the field of Ardat 9:26–13:58:—
   a. The woman and the city. 9:38–10:59.
   b. The eagle with three heads and twelve wings, and the lion with a man's voice. 11:1–12:51.
   c. The man from the sea. 13:1–58.
7. The voice of God from the bush. Woe to Babylon and Asia, Egypt and Syria. 14:1–16:78.

The Revelation of John

The structure of Revelation, as it appears in the following outline, is elaborate. The numbers seven and three are seen throughout:—

Prologue. (a) Title of the book. 1:1–3.
(b) Address to the seven churches. 1:4–8.

Vision of heaven. The Son of Man, the Seven Candle-

sticks, the Seven Stars. The command to write to the Seven Churches. 1:9–20. The messages to—

1. Ephesus.
2. Smyrna.
3. Pergamum.
4. Thyatira.
5. Sardis.
6. Philadelphia.
7. Laodicea. chs. 2–3.

Vision of heaven. 4:1–5:14, *and the Seven Seals.* ch. 6.

1. The white horse.
2. The red horse.
3. The black horse.
4. The pale horse.
5. The souls of the slain.
6. The earthquake and the eclipse. ch. 6.

Episode. The sealing of the redeemed on earth. The redeemed in heaven. ch. 7.

7. The silence in heaven. 8:1.

Vision of heaven and of the Seven Angels and the Seven Trumpets. 8:2–9:21.

1. Hail, fire, and blood on the earth.
2. Burning mountain in the sea.
3. Falling star, Wormwood, poisons the streams.
4. Partial eclipse of Sun, Moon and stars.
5. Opening of the abyss, letting out locusts, "like horses prepared for war."
6. Loosing of the four angels and of the horsemen.

Episode. The angel and the little book. ch. 10.
The two witnesses. 11:1–14.

7. The great voices in heaven, the woman, the dragon and the child, the war in heaven. 11:15–12:17.

The beast coming out of the sea. 13:1–10.
The beast coming out of the earth. 13:11–18.

Episode. The redeemed in heaven. 14:1–5.
The three angels with proclamations. 14:6–13.
The three angels of reaping. 14:14–20.

Vision of heaven and of Seven Angels having Seven Bowls of Plagues. 15:1–16:21.

1. Noisome sore upon men who worshipped the beast.
2. Sea turned into blood.
3. Rivers turned into blood.
4. Sun scorching men.
5. Kingdom of the Beast darkened.
6. Euphrates dried up.
7. Lightnings, thunders, earthquakes.

Visions of judgment. 17:1–20:10.

1. Judgment and doom of Babylon, and song of rejoicing in heaven. 17:1–19:10.

2. Destruction of the Beast and the false prophet by the rider on the white horse. 19:11–21.

3. Binding of Satan for a thousand years, his temporary release, and final doom in the lake of fire. 20:1–10.

Visions of—

1. The great white throne. 20:11–15.
2. The new heaven and the new earth. 21:1–8.
3. The new Jerusalem coming down out of heaven. 21:9–22:5.

Epilogue. These words are faithful and true. 22:6–21.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN MANUSCRIPT

BEFORE WYCLIFFE

THE beginnings of Christianity in Britain are involved in much obscurity. There are numerous stories about the subject, which variously attribute the introduction of the new religion to Joseph of Arimathea, to Peter and Paul, to Bran the father of Caractacus, and to missionaries sent by Pope Eleutherus in the time of Aurelius, at the close of the second century, in response to a request from a British King Lucius. The last story is told by Bede, but his authority is unknown. Tertullian[1] (d. circa 230) declared that in Britain were places subject to Christ, which Roman arms could not penetrate, and Origen[2] (d. circa 253) speaks of the power of Christ as manifested in Britain.[3] When the Teutons, who were heathen, invaded Britain in the middle of the fifth century, Christianity had been established there among the Celts, who received it during the Roman occupation. More than this we do not know.

Although efforts of the Celtic churchmen had resulted in the conversion of the Northern Picts, the conversion of the Teutonic invaders was not accomplished until the coming of Augustine and his band of

[1] *Tert. adv. Judæos*, p. 189.
[2] *Tract 28 in Matt.*
[3] See J. Lingard, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, London, 1845, vol. 1, pp. 1–63, for an outline of this early history.

missionaries, sent by Gregory at the beginning of the seventh century. Bertha, the Queen of Ethelbert, King of Kent, was a Christian, though her husband was not. The latter however received Augustine and listened to his preaching. The earliest church buildings in Britain were Celtic, and one of these at Canterbury, named in honor of St. Martin, which had been given by Bertha to Bishop Liudhard, was turned over to Augustine. The efforts of Augustine and his associates, and the purity of their teachings, won not only Ethelbert, but also his subjects, and Bede is authority for the statement "that at the feast of Christmas ten thousand Saxons followed their prince to the waters of baptism." [1]

The Roman Church, thus established in Britain by Augustine, differed on some important points from the Celtic Church. The most important difference was in regard to the date at which Easter should be celebrated. Other questions concerned the tonsure, and the celibacy of the clergy. A conference was called in 664 by Oswiu King of Northumbria to meet at Whitby, the monastery presided over by the Abbess Hilda. The discussion of the date of Easter was led on behalf of the Celtic party by Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, and for the Saxon party by Wilfrid, who later became Archbishop of York. The King favored the Saxon, or Roman, opinion rather than the Celtic, and Colman and his followers withdrew to the monastery of Iona, while the Abbess Hilda and some of the clergy of the Celtic Church went over to Wilfrid.

Celtic scholarship was of a high order and many Anglo-Saxon scholars received their training at Celtic schools. Celtic art likewise developed early, and not only in church architecture and ornament, but also in

[1] J. Lingard, *History of the Saxon Church*, vol. 1, p. 25.

the early manuscripts of the Bible, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels is its influence clearly seen in the miniscules and decorations. Ireland was during the middle ages probably the most highly cultured nation in Europe.

As the Celtic Church antedated the making of the Vulgate, or Latin version of Jerome (d. 420), it was the old Latin version of the Scriptures that was read in the churches and religious establishments of various kinds, that were in existence earlier than the coming of Augustine. After the Synod of Whitby, however, where the supremacy of the Roman Church was determined for the Anglo-Saxons, the Vulgate became in time the accepted Bible. There is no indication, as yet discovered, of Celtic as distinguished from Roman influence on Biblical versions in English.

The translation of the Bible from the original languages into other tongues began very early, as is shown by the early Greek versions of the Old Testament, the Latin versions of both Old and New Testaments, and the various translations into Oriental languages, Syriac, Armenian and Coptic. In England, as in other countries where Christianity was preached, the contents of the Bible became known to the people in their own language long before any attempt was made to commit any portions of it to writing in the vernacular. In time, parts of the Bible, especially the Gospels and the Psalter, were translated into Anglo-Saxon, but a fact usually overlooked in connection with the early translations is that they were made to assist the less well-educated clergy and the religious, and not for the people. The idea that it was necessary or desirable to place the text of the Bible in the hands of the people in their own language developed much later. The misuse

of Scripture by ignorant priests and laymen was referred to by Ælfric. We must be careful, therefore, in thinking of the relation of the Bible to the people, not to carry back into Anglo-Saxon times ideas that were not commonly held until the days of Wycliffe, or even after the Reformation.

A vernacular translation would have had few readers outside of the ecclesiastical establishments, within which, except among the lower clergy and the religious, the need of such a translation was not felt, as Latin was sufficient, the services of the Church being in Latin.[1] The people could not have read a vernacular version, had they possessed one, and only the well-to-do could have afforded to own a manuscript copy.[2]

While few of the laity could read, and many of the lower clergy and the religious were not learned, there were great scholars within the establishments, and under their influence many manuscripts of the Bible were prepared, of which the Codex Amiatinus, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, made at Wearmouth, or Yarrow, as a gift to the Pope, and the Lindisfarne Gospels, referred to below, are notable examples.

Although the facts are as stated in regard to the trans-

[1] "For the instruction of the people, the Epistle and Gospel were read, and the sermon delivered in their native tongue, but God was addressed by the ministers of religion in the Language of Rome." J. Lingard, *History of the Saxon Church*, vol. 1, p. 307.

[2] In consequence of this there came into existence, much later, the *Biblia Pauperum*, or Bible of the Poor, at first in manuscript, and, after about 1420 in block printing. The book was so called to distinguish it from complete, Bibles and consisted of pictures illustrating scenes from the Bible. The earliest printed copy, 1420, contained forty block plates. A second issue in 1450 contained fifty plates by another artist. There were many varieties of the *Biblia Pauperum*, original copies of which are very rare. There are facsimile reprints of some of the copies such as—*Biblia Pauperum*, Reproduced in facsimile from one of the copies in the British Museum; with Introduction by J. P. Berjeau, London, 1859. *Biblia Pauperum.* Conteynynge Thyrtie and Eyght Woodcuttes illustratynge the Lyfe of . . . Jhesus Crist, Descrypcions extracted off John Wiclif, with Preface by A. P. Stanley, London, 1884.

lation of the Bible into Anglo-Saxon, and only parts of the text were so translated, it is no exaggeration to say that a large part of all that was written in Anglo-Saxon was based directly or indirectly on the Bible, including poems, more or less original, of epic and liturgical character, legends, prose and verse paraphrases, commentaries and homilies. There are references in early records to clerics who had thus utilized Bible stories. In the Ecclesiastical History of Bede is found the Story of Cædmon (670 fl.):—

"His Song was of the creation of the world, of the birth of man, of the history of Genesis. He sang too, the Exodus of Israel from Egypt and their entrance into the promised land, and many other narratives of Holy Scripture. Of the incarnation also did he sing, and of the passion; of the resurrection and ascension into heaven; of the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the teaching of the Apostles." [1]

We do not possess any part of Cædmon's translation or paraphrase. The Genesis, Exodus and Daniel, formerly attributed to him, are found in a manuscript of the tenth century, now in the Bodleian Library. They are poems freely paraphrasing parts of the books.

Statements commonly[2] made concerning translations of the Psalter by Aldhelm (640?–709) and Guthlac (d. 714) have been shown to be probably erroneous as there is no real evidence that any such versions ever existed.[3] Nothing remains of a translation of the Gospel of John as far as 6:9, which it is stated by Cuthbert,

[1] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 24.

[2] For example, J. I. Mombert, *Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible*, 2d ed., New York, 1890, p. 5. F. G. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 2d ed., London, 1896, p. 190.

[3] For a discussion of this see A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, London, 1898, pp. xiv-xix.

in a letter to Cuthwine, was made by Bede (d. 735). The letter of Cuthbert, which is frequently referred to as authority for the statement that Bede translated the whole of the Gospel of John, is, in part, as follows:—

"Thus we passed in joy the quinquagesimal days till the aforesaid festival; and he rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God for the infirmities under which he suffered, often repeating 'God scourgeth every son whom he receiveth' (Heb. 12:6) with other passages of Scripture, and the saying of St. Ambrose—'I have not lived so as to be ashamed to live among you, nor do I fear to die, for we have a gracious God.'"

"During these days, besides the lessons which he gave us, and the chant of the psalms, he undertook the composition of two memorable works, that is, he translated into our language the gospel of St. John as far as 'But what are these among so many?' etc. John 6:9—and made a collection of extracts from the notes of Isidore, the bishop, saying, 'I will not suffer my pupils to read falsehoods, and labour without profit in that book, after my death.' But on the Tuesday before the Ascension, his difficulty of breathing began to distress him exceedingly, and a slight tumour appeared in his feet. He spent the whole day, and dictated to us with cheerfulness, saying occasionally, 'Lose no time.'"

"I know not how long I may last. Perhaps in a very short time my Maker may take me.—In fact, it seemed to us that he knew the time of his death. He lay awake the whole night praising God: and at dawn on the Wednesday morning, ordered us to write quickly, which we did, till the hour of terce (nine o'clock). At that hour we walked in procession with the relics, as the rubric for the day prescribed; but one of us remained to wait on him, and said to him, Dearest master, there still remains one Chapter unwritten. Will it fatigue you if I ask more questions? 'No' said Beda, 'take your pen and mend it, and write quickly.' This he did."

"When they heard him say that they would see him no more in this world, all burst into tears; but their tears were

tempered with joy when he said, 'It is time that I return to Him who made me out of nothing. I have lived long, and kindly hath my merciful judge forecast the course of my life for me. The time of my dissolution is at hand. I wish to be released, and to be with Christ.' In this way he continued to speak cheerfully till sunset, when the forementioned youth said, 'Beloved master, there is still one sentence unwritten.' 'Then write quickly,' said Beda. In a few minutes the youth said, 'It is finished.' "Thou hast spoken truly,' replied Beda, 'take my head between thy hands, for it is my delight to sit opposite to that holy place in which I used to pray; let me sit and invoke my Father.' Sitting thus on the pavement of his cell, and repeating, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' as he finished the word 'Ghost,' he breathed his last, and took his departure for Heaven." [1]

Bede wrote a number of commentaries on the various books of the Bible and this may be the basis for the statement made by Wycliffe,[2] and others that Bede translated the whole Bible into Anglo-Saxon, but there is no other evidence of this.

The name of Eadfrith, (d. 721) a contemporary of Bede, is connected with the Anglo-Saxon Gospels which are variously known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels," the "Durham Book," and the "Book of St. Cuthbert." It is the most beautiful extant specimen of Anglo-Saxon manuscript, and contains Jerome's Latin version to which have been added Anglo-Saxon interlineations or glosses. Appended to it are the Eusebian Canons, and the Letter to Damasus. The manuscript is now in the British Museum.

At the end of the Gospel of John is a note thus translated by Dr. Skeat:—

[1] As translated in J. Lingard's *History of the Saxon Church*, vol. 2, pp. 197–200.

[2] See below, p. 341.

"Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne Church was he who at the first wrote this book in honour of God and St. Cuthbert and all the saints in common that are in the island . . . and Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable priest, glossed it above in English." [1]

Aldred (950 ?) however, belonged to a later time, as do the Anglo-Saxon interlinear "glosses," which are rather notes, than translations in the ordinary sense. They have an important bearing on the whole question of the vernacular version. The people, as has been stated above, could not, except in rare instances, read, but it was necessary for the clergy to be able to render the Bible words accurately into Anglo-Saxon. The glosses therefore were to aid the clergy in their preaching to the people. They date probably from the tenth century and, next to the "Lindisfarne Gospels," the most famous is the "Rushworth Gospels" or the "Rushworth Gloss," now in the Bodleian Library. This contains a translation of Matthew, and a gloss of the other Gospels. Appended to it are two notes:—

"Farmen the presbyter this book thus glossed."

"Let him that makes use of me pray for Owun, who glossed this for Farmen, priest at Harewood."

Preserved in the British Museum is a Latin Psalter thought to be the actual manuscript sent by Gregory the Great to Augustine, when the latter was in England, early in the seventh century. It has interlineation, probably of the ninth century, of an Anglo-Saxon translation. To the ninth and tenth centuries belong several varieties of the Psalter glossed in Anglo-Saxon.

[1] W. W. Skeat, *The Saxon Gospels*, Cambridge, 1871–87. Preface to John, p. viii.

What is known as the Vespasian Psalter is an interlinear version of the Roman Psalter, dating probably from the first half of the ninth century. It is thought by some scholars that all later glosses on the Psalms, of which there are a number of varieties, may have been derived from this.[1] Both the Roman Psalter and the Gallican Psalter are found glossed. There are also glosses on the Canticles which occur in the Liturgy, and a Kentish gloss (fragmentary) on Proverbs.

We are told by William of Malmesbury [2] that King Alfred (849–901) left unfinished at his death a translation of the Psalter. To him have been attributed the prose version of the first fifty Psalms found in the Paris Psalter, which consists of two parts, a prose version of Psalms 1 to 51:8, and a poetical version of the remainder of the book of Psalms, beginning with 52:6. This manuscript, probably of the eleventh century, is now in the National Library in Paris. The prose portion dates probably from the early part of the tenth century and the poetic a little later.[3] Several of the Psalms in the prose version are probably of Alfred's translation, and possibly all of them.

In the preface to his translation of the Pastoral Care of Gregory, which he made for the instruction of the clergy and the consequent edifying of the people, Alfred wrote:—

"I thought I saw how, before all was spoiled and burnt, the churches were filled with treasures of books, yet but little fruit was reaped of them, for men could understand nothing

[1] See A. S. Cook, *Bible Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, pp. xxvi-xxxiv.

[2] *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, II, 123.

[3] See A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, pp. xxxiv-xlii, for a discussion of the probable dates of the Paris Psalter and Alfred's share in the translation.

of them, as they were not written in their own native tongue. Few persons south of the Humber could understand the services in English or translate Latin into English. I think there were not many who could do so beyond the Humber, and none to the South of the Thames."

Alfred translated the *Pastoral Care* of Gregory, which contained numerous passages from the Bible. He translated, or had translated, also, the *History* of Orosius, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, and the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boëthius. To his Laws he prefixed a translation of the Ten Commandments. In the Laws and in the translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Orosius's *History*, are other passages from the Bible translated by, or under the direction of, Alfred.

What are known as the West Saxon Gospels, which are translations and not glosses, date probably from the close of the tenth century. The authorship of the translations is unknown, although in one of the manuscripts, that in the Corpus Christi Library at Cambridge, is a note at the end of Matthew stating that it was written by a scholar whose name was Ælfric, and that he gave it to Brihtwold. Nothing more is known of either of these men. These Saxon Gospels are found in seven manuscripts which contain many variants and which probably date from about 1000 to 1175.[1]

Mention has been made of the poetic versions of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel, formerly attributed to Cædmon, and belonging to the eighth century. Two other important poems which make free use of Biblical material are the *Christ* of Cynewulf, eighth century, and the *Judith*, of unknown authorship, and of uncertain

[1] For an account of them see A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, pp. lix-lxiv.

date, but probably of the ninth century. There were also a number of varying versions of the Lord's Prayer in Anglo-Saxon.

Aelfric Grammaticus (955–1020?) translated into Anglo-Saxon a considerable part of the Old Testament and also of the Apocrypha, hoping by means of the books of Judith, and the Maccabees, to stir the people to resist vigorously the attacks of the Danes. To him are due the translation of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, part of Kings, Esther, and Job. In the Homilies of Ælfric in Anglo-Saxon are many passages of Scripture from the Old and the New Testaments and from the Apocryphal books. Ælfric was fearful lest he should be thought to have done an unwise or dangerous thing in translating portions of the Holy Scriptures into English, and refers to it in the Preface to his *Lives of the Saints*, and also in the Preface to his version of *Genesis* and says, in the latter:—

"When you [Æthelweard the Earl] desired me, honored friend, to translate the Book of Genesis, from Latin into English, I was loth to grant your request; upon which you assured me that I should need to translate only so far as the account of Isaac, Abrahams son, seeing that some other person had rendered it for you from that point to the end. Now, I am concerned lest the work should be dangerous for me or anyone else to undertake, because I fear that, if some foolish man should read this book or hear it read, he would imagine that he could live now, under the new dispensation, just as the patriarchs lived before the old law was established, or as men lived under the law of Moses" . . . "We say in advance that this book has a very profound spiritual signification, and we undertake to do nothing more than relate the naked facts. The uneducated will think that all the meaning

is included in the simple narrative, while such is by no means the case . . . "[1]

None of these early translations of portions of the Bible modified in any way the use of the Latin version in the services of the Church. The attitude towards the Bible on the part of Ælfric was general, and shows clearly why no complete translation into Anglo-Saxon ever came into existence. A fact of great interest and importance is that when we pass from the period of Old English to that of Middle English, we find that translation into the vernacular ceased until the fourteenth century, with the better education of the clergy in Latin, and with the increased use of Latin, as exemplified in the substitution of it for English after 1150 in the keeping of historical annals.

There were, however, after 1150 many works in which Biblical material was used in paraphrase, or the retelling of stories. Religious works were produced in large numbers, and there are collections of homilies from the twelfth century which contain Biblical passages or paraphrases. A work of great importance is the *Ormulum* of Orm, or Ormin, (circa 1200), who wrote thirty-two out of the two hundred and forty-two homilies which he had planned. This work with its introductory material consists of 19,992 complete verses. The plan of the author was to paraphrase the Gospels of the Mass-Book for the year and to add a commentary or homily on each in verse. Orm states that he wrote in order that simple men might understand the teachings of the Church. Paraphrases of Biblical stories may be from Latin paraphrases, and not directly from the Bible. Of these there are a number, all, except a

[1] As translated in A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Authors*, pp. lxx, lxxi.

few, in verse. The *Ormulum* and metrical paraphrases of Genesis and Exodus and part of Numbers and Deuteronomy are of the thirteenth century, the others of the fourteenth. The *Cursor Mundi* contains many Scripture narratives and is a general compendium of religious material. There were other religious works of information and instruction in which were quoted many passages of Scripture. The most notable of these was the *Ancren Riwle*, the manuscripts of which date variously from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It exists in English, French, and Latin versions, and it has been a question among scholars as to which version was the earliest or original.

In the fourteenth century we find paraphrases, chiefly metrical, of large parts of the Old Testament. In addition to these are some notable Psalters of which three call for special mention. They are 1. the Surtees Psalter, so called because published by the Surtees Society, consisting of a translation of the Book of Psalms into English from the Vulgate. It dates probably from the first half of the fourteenth century; 2. Rolles' (1300–1349) commentary on the Psalter, based on Peter Lombard's Latin Commentary, and itself the basis of several Lollard revisions; 3. the West Midland Prose Psalter, formerly wrongly attributed to William of Shoreham, which contains the Psalms, eleven Canticles, and the Athanasian Creed. There was also an English version of Jerome's Abbreviated Psalter, and paraphrases and commentaries on particular Psalms.

Of the New Testament there were paraphrases of many stories, an English version of the Pauline Epistles, an English version of Clement of Lanthony's Harmony of the Gospels (circa 1150), a translation of the Apocalypse with commentary, and several com-

mentaries on the Gospels, all of the fourteenth century. There were also ballads and poems in which New Testament stories were told. The various Legendaries, Temporales and Passionales contained much Biblical material.[1]

THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS, 1380–1388

Not yet was there any complete Bible in English. The time was ripe for it, and through the labors of John Wycliffe and his associates, carried on through a period of years, the work of translation was finished, and the Bible was set forth, probably as early as 1382. That there was no English version earlier, may be due in part, to the fact that after the Norman Conquest, French was for three centuries the language of the upper classes and of educated persons. From the beginning of the fourteenth century we find great changes in the use of English by the upper classes. In 1362, in the reign of Edward III, Parliament passed an act which required:—

"That all pleas which shall be pleaded in his courts . . . shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated and judged in the English tongue."

This act was published in French, and required that the records of pleadings should be kept in Latin.

The latter part of the fourteenth century gave us the beginnings of modern English literature and we need only mention Wycliffe, Gower, and Chaucer, and compare their writings with what had preceded them, to

[1] An account of works derived directly or indirectly from the Bible in the Middle English period, 1050–1400, will be found in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1400*, by J. E. Wells, New Haven, 1916.

see that a new era had dawned. "If Chaucer is the father of our later English poetry, Wycliffe is the father of our later English prose. The rough, clear, homely English of his tracts, the speech of the ploughman and the trader of the day, though colored with the picturesque phraseology of the Bible, is, in its literary use, as distinctly a creation of his own as the style in which he embodied it, the terse vehement sentences, the stinging sarcasms, the hard antitheses, which roused the dullest mind like a whip." [1]

"The book which begot English prose still remains its supreme type. The English Bible is the true school of English literature. It possesses every quality of our language in its highest form—except for scientific precision, practical affairs, and philosophic analysis. It would be ridiculous to write an essay on metaphysics, a political article, or a novel in the language of the Bible. Indeed it would be ridiculous to write anything at all in the language of the Bible. If you care to know the best that our literature can give in simple noble prose—mark, learn, and inwardly digest the Holy Scriptures in the English tongue." [2]

We do not know precisely what parts of the translation, if any, are Wycliffe's own, but it is believed that he translated the New Testament almost entirely, and that the Old Testament is, in considerable part, the work of Nicholas of Hereford. Other friends worked with these, but it is to Wycliffe's influence that we owe this translation.

No man was better fitted for the task. Educated at Oxford, where he received the best teaching of his time

[1] J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, London, 1877–1880, vol. 1, p. 489.

[2] Frederic Harrison, *Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill and other Literary Estimates*, New York, 1902, p. 165.

in the Arts and Sciences, Theology and Law, he is said to have been Fellow of Merton in 1357, but this is uncertain, and Master of Balliol in 1361. He was also a Doctor in the Faculty of Theology, and was appointed a member of the Royal Commission sent to Bruges to treat with the Papal Embassy. He was Rector of Fylingham in Lincolnshire, and for a while Warden of Canterbury Hall, and Rector of Lutterworth, where he died in 1384. It has been suggested that Wycliffe may have been in Chaucer's mind when he wrote the description of the "Good Man." Whether this is so or not, the life of Wycliffe seems from all accounts of it to have been in full accord with Chaucer's idea of what a good priest ought to be.

Wycliffe's New Testament, 1380? and Bible, 1382? were in manuscript, as printing had not yet been invented. Copies were made, and in a very short time a revision was undertaken, perhaps by John Purvey, a follower of Wycliffe. The New Testament included the Epistle to the Laodiceans, inserted after the Epistle to the Colossians. What is known as Purvey's version was completed perhaps in 1388. The ascription of this work to Purvey was made first by Daniel Waterton in 1729.[1] Forshall and Madden accepted this as fact in their edition of the two versions in 1850. We have no proof that Purvey was the author of the translation. What is stated by the anonymous author is, that he worked with "diverse felawis and helpars" and "manie gode felawis and kunnynge at the correccioun of his translacion." Mr. Pollard suggests that the version of John of Trevisa, mentioned by Caxton, may perhaps "be identified, either with the completion of the first version begun by Nicholas of Hereford, or with the

[1] Daniel Waterton, *Works*, vol. x, p. 361.

second version, which has somewhat lightly been assigned to Purvey." [1]

It had been common to add marginal notes to the Latin Bibles, and the Wycliffite versions contained such notes, also prologues to the books. This feature is of importance, as we shall see, in the history of the Bible in English. As a specimen of these prologues we may take that to Ruth:—

"Prologue on the book of Ruth. This book Ruth shewith the feithfulnesse and stidefast love of this wumman Ruth to the moder of her hosebonde, after the deeth of her hosebonde and sones, turnynge agen fro the lond of Moab into Bethleem of Juda; wherefor God dide merci to Ruth, and sche was wedid to Booz, a wurthi man of Bethleem, and is rekened in the genologie of Davith and of Crist."

Wycliffe's Bible was never printed until 1850, when it was issued with the following title:—

"The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers: edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F. R. S. etc. and Sir Frederic Madden, K. H., F. R. S., etc., Oxford, at the University Press, 1850. Four volumes."

The only early copies are manuscripts, of which Bishop Westcott mentions as extant "about one hundred and seventy copies of the whole or part," of which "fifteen of the Old Testament and eighteen of the New belong to the original version. The remainder are of Purvey's revision." [2]

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Bibliographical Introduction* to Reprint of 1611 Version, p. 5.

[2] B. F. Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, London, 1868, p. 24.

The writings of Wycliffe and his followers were sought out and burned in the stormy days of religious persecution that followed. Wycliffe's Prologue was printed in 1550 with the following title:—

"The True Copye of a Prolog wrytten about c. yeres paste by John Wyckliffe. (As maye justly be gatherid bi that, that John Bale hath writte of him in his boke entitlid the Summarie of famouse writers of the Ile of Great Britain), the Originall whereof is founde written in an olde English Bible bitwixt the Olde Testamente and the Newe, whych Bible remaynith now in ye Kyng hys Maiesties Chamber. London; Robert Crowly, 1550."

In 1408 at Oxford the Provincial Council forbade the translating of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, or the expounding of the same, without special authority of the Council. The following is a translation of a portion of the decree:—

"We therefore enact and ordain that no one henceforth on his own authority translate any text of Holy Scripture into the English or other language, by way of a book, pamphlet, or tract, and that no book, pamphlet, or tract of this kind be read, either already recently composed in the time of the said John Wyclif, or since then, or that may in future be composed, in part or in whole, publicly or privily, under pain of the greater excommunication, until the translation itself shall have been approved by the diocesan of the place or if need be by a provincial council. Whoever shall do the contrary to be punished in like manner as a supporter of heresy and error." [1]

It is interesting to note in this connection that nearly

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible, the Documents relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611*, London, 1911, p. 80.

half the extant copies of the Wycliffite versions "are of a small size, such as could be made the constant daily companion of their owners." [1] The Scriptures in English for the owning of which many persons were prosecuted, in the early part of the sixteenth century, as told in Fox's *Martyrs*, must have been copies of the Wycliffe or Purvey versions.

Wycliffe's "Apology" sets forth his purpose in translating, and refers to Bede and Alfred as his predecessors in the work of making the Bible accessible to the people in the vernacular. He says:—

"Oh Lord God! sithin at the beginning of faith, so many men translated into Latin to great profit of Latin men; let one simple creature of God translate into English for profit of Englishmen. For if worldly clerks look well their chronicles and books they shoulden find that Bede translated the Bible and expounded much in Saxon, that was English either common language of this land in his time. And not only Bede, but King Alfred that founded Oxenford, translated so his last days the beginning of the Psalter in Saxon and would more if he had lived longer. Also Frenchmen, Beemers, and Britons han the Bible and other books of devotion and exposition translated into their mother language. Why shoulden not Englishmen have the same in their mother language? I cannot wit."

Although our modern English versions are indebted chiefly to William Tindale for their language, yet many of the most familiar expressions to-day are from Wycliffe, such as the beam and mote, the trampling under feet of swine and the rending of dogs, "the Comforter," for Paraclete, the Saxon phrase "God forbid," and the Beatitudes:—

[1] B. F. Westcott, *The History of the English Bible*, p. 24.

"And Jhesus seynge the puple went up in to an hil, and whan he was sette hise disciplis camen to hym. And he opened his mouth and taughte hem, and seide.

"Blessid be pore men in spirit: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern.

"Blessid be mylde men: for thei schulen weeld the erthe.

"Blessid be thei that moornen: for thei schulen be counfortide.

"Blessid ben thei that hungren and thirsten rightwisnesse: for thei schulen be fulfillid.

"Blessid ben merciful men: for thei schulen gete merci.

"Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte: for thei schuln se god.

'Blessid be pesible men: for thei schuln be clepid goddis children.

"Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucioun for rightwisnesse: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern." Wycliffe, 1380—Bagster Hexapla.

Wycliffe was not content merely to translate the Bible. He was desirous that the people for whom he had translated it should read it, and hear it read. He sent out men, "poor priests," with copies of the translation to read to all who wished to hear. The direct influence of this was very great. He put the Bible into the English of the people, and in so doing opened to them the treasures of Bible story. As Dr. Storrs has said:—

"How vast the impression produced by the version which thus burst into use, not on language only, but on life, in the whole sphere of moral, social, spiritual, even political experience, who shall declare! To the England of his time, confused, darkened, with dim outlook over this world or the next, the Lutterworth Rector brought the superlative educational force. He opened before it, in the Bible, long avenues

of history. He made it familiar with the most enchanting and quickening sketches of personal character ever pencilled. He carried it to distant lands and peoples, further than crusaders had gone with Richard, further than Alfred's messengers had wandered. It saw again 'the city of palms' in sudden ruin, and heard the echoes of cymbal and shawn from the earliest Temple. The grandest poetry became its possession; the sovereign law, on which the blaze of Sinai shone, or which glowed with serene light of divinity from the Mount of Beatitudes. Inspired minds came out of the past—Moses, David, Isaiah, John, the Man of Idumea, the man of Tarsus—to teach by this version the long-desiring English mind. It gave peasants the privilege of those who had heard Elijah's voice in the ivory palaces, of those who had seen the heaven opened by the river of Chebar, of those who had gathered before 'the temples made with hands' which crowned the Acropolis. They looked into the faces of apostles and martyrs, of seers and kings, and walked with Abraham in the morning of time." [1]

[1] R. S. Storrs, *John Wycliffe and the First English Bible*, New York, 1880, p. 72.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE 1525–1539

As time went on and copies of the Bible in English multiplied, its influence on the thoughts and language of the people increased likewise, and this, while primarily due to religion, was due also to the interest of the people in a kind of literature that took hold on their hearts. Later, May 6, 1541, after Tindale's and Coverdale's and the Great Bible had been printed, Cromwell, as Vicar General, by authority of Henry VIII notified every curate "that one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume in English, should be set up in some convenient place within the church." Day after day crowds gathered around these Bibles to hear them read aloud. "So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry save the little-known verse of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in churches.[1]"

The printing of a Bible in English, in England, during the early part of the sixteenth century, would have been dangerous for the man who did it, so, for this reason, the early editions were printed abroad, but Caxton, the first English printer, translated from Latin the popular *Golden Legend*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, an Italian, who died in 1298. This collection of stories of saints, martyrs, and ecclesiastics, was reprinted many times, after 1470, when the first printed

[1] J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, vol. 3, p. 10.

edition appeared. Caxton protected himself against censure by reprinting the legends, but added to the volume many Bible stories, not in the original, and in this way made accessible in printed form much of the Bible, including stories from the Apocrypha. Caxton's *Golden Legend*, 1483, contains the first printing in English of any portion of the Bible. The first book printed from movable type was the Mazarin Bible, 1455–6, of Gutenberg. The first printed book bearing a date was the Psalter, 1457, of Gutenberg. In 1505 a portion of the Psalms was printed. These were in Latin. Tindale's New Testament, issued in two editions, a quarto and an octavo, both in 1525, represents the first printing of any complete division of the Bible in English.

Caxton is the authority for the statement that John of Trevisa translated the Bible, a statement repeated in the preface to the 1611 version. Caxton's statement, in the preface to Higden's *Polychronicon*, is that John of Trevisa at the request of "one Sir Thomas Barkley" had translated the *Polychronicon*, the *Bible*, and the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus. We have two of these, but know nothing of the Bible translation.

There are several reasons why the Wycliffite versions were superseded by others. One was that much of the language became obsolete, another that they were translations from the Latin version of Jerome, the Vulgate, which, although the authoritative Bible of the Western Church, was itself a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek. Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible were printed later and thus became readily accessible to scholars.

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in

1453, drove to the West scholars from the capital of the Eastern Empire, where Greek learning had flourished. These scholars brought with them Greek manuscripts, and it was probably on the basis of manuscripts thus made accessible to Western Europe, which prior to this had received its Greek literature chiefly through Latin sources, that Erasmus was able to issue in 1516 his New Testament in the original Greek, with a Latin translation. He issued a second edition in 1519 with more than three hundred changes. Aldus had reprinted, at Venice in 1518, the first edition, with over two hundred corrections. The third edition in 1522 contains for the first time the verse I John, 5:7, which had long been in the Vulgate, but could not be found in any early Greek manuscript. It appears with differences in two manuscripts, one that of Dr. Moulfort, probably of the fifteenth century, and one in the Vatican, of about the same age. From the former Erasmus took it. The Complutensian New Testament, the first printed Greek Testament, although printed 1514–17, was not published until 1520 when Pope Leo X sanctioned it. Erasmus used it in preparing his fourth edition in 1527, and a fifth, differing from it in only four places, in 1535. The fourth edition of Erasmus was the most important.

Aldus printed the Septuagint in 1518. The Old Testament had been printed in Hebrew, the Psalms in 1477 at Bologna; the Law in 1482; the Hebrew Scriptures in 1488 at Soncino Lombardy; in 1491–93 at Naples; in 1494 at Brescia. In 1518 and 1525 the Old Testament was printed in Hebrew under the direction of the Rabbis. Between 1514 and 1517 the Complutensian Polyglot (Hebrew, Greek, Latin), had been printed at Alcala (Latin *Complutum*), in Spain, under

the care of Cardinal Ximenes. This consisted of (1) the Hebrew text of the Old Testament with the Aramaic parts, (2) the Targum of Onkelos to the Pentateuch, (3) the Septuagint, (4) the Vulgate, (5) the Greek New Testament. Latin translations of the Septuagint and the Targum were printed with them.

With this array of original sources, which had not been accessible to Wycliffe, the way was open for a translation of the Bible into English from Hebrew and Greek. Luther published the New Testament in German in 1522 from the Greek of Erasmus, and the Old Testament in 1534 on the basis of the Massoretic Hebrew text of 1494, edited by Ben Moseh. Luther placed the Apocryphal books in a group by themselves, as the books were not in Hebrew. This was done in the other Protestant versions. He used also the Septuagint and the Vulgate, as well as the Hebrew, in making his version.

TINDALE'S TRANSLATIONS, 1525–1535

The decree of 1408 had forbidden any person to undertake the translation of the Bible without special authorization. The publication of the Greek Testament with a Latin translation by Erasmus in 1516, with revision and reprinting in 1519 and 1522, and the translation of the New Testament from Greek into German by Luther, printed in 1522, probably had great influence in leading William Tindale, who had studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, who may have heard Erasmus lecture at Cambridge, and who was fired by zeal to place the Bible in the hands of the people, to proceed to London to ask from the Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, authority to make a

translation of the New Testament directly from the Greek, not as in the case of all previous English versions from the Latin. In the Preface to Genesis in Tindale's translation of the Pentateuch, he relates his experiences, and tells how he brought with him to London "an Oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greeke into Englishe" as evidence of his ability. It must be remembered that only a short time before this, Greek had been, for the first time, introduced in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It was only after having been refused room in the Bishop's house to translate the New Testament, that Tindale, financially assisted by "Humphrey Monmouth and certain other good men—tooke hys leave of the realm and departed into Germanie." Tindale had declared to a learned divine, with whom he had been arguing, "If God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost."

It was a time of religious controversy, and this had much to do with the translation of the Bible into German by Luther, and the New Testament, 1525, the Pentateuch, 1530, and lessons from the Old Testament, 1534, into English by Tindale, who declared in the Preface to Genesis:—

". . . I had perceaved by experyence, how that it was impossible to stablysh the laye people in any truth, excepte the Scripture were playnly layde before their eyes in their mother tonge, that they might se the processe, ordre and meaninge of the texts." [1]

Wycliffe and Tindale endeavored to put the Bible into the actual language of the common people. Of

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 95.

the spirit in which Tindale worked and of his attitude towards his own work, we have two statements from the two editions of his New Testament, the first, from the Prologue to the unique copy of the Cologne fragment of 1525 in the British Museum:—

"I have here translated (brethren and susters moost dere and tenderly beloved in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyinge, consolacion, and solas:

"Exhortynge instantly and besechynge those that are better sene in the tongues then y, and that have hyer gyftes of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture, and meanynge of the spyrite, then y, to consydre and pondre my laboure, and that with the spyrite of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very sence of the tonge, or meanynge of the scripture, or have not given the right englysshe worde, that they put to there handes to amende it, remembrynge that so is there duetie to doo." [1]

Tindale's second statement is in the Epilogue to the Worms edition of the New Testament:—

"Them that are learned Christenly, I beseche . . . that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme, offende them not: but that they consyder howe that I had no man to counterfet, nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same, or soche lyke thinge in the scripture before tyme. Moreover, even very necessitie and combrance (God is recorde) above strengthe, which I will rehearce, lest we shulde seme to bost ourselves, caused that many thynges are lackinge, which necessaryly are requyred. Count it as a thynge not havynge his full shape, but as it were borne afore hys tyme, even as a thing begunne rather then fynnesshed. In tyme to come (yf god have apoynted us there unto) we will geve it his full shape; and putt out yf

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 111.

ought be added superfluusly: and adde to yff ought be oversene thorowe negligence: and will enfoarce to brynge to compendeousnes, that which is nowe translated at the lengthe, and to geve lyght where it is requyred, and to seke in certayne places more proper englysshe, and with a table to expounde the wordes which are nott commenly used, and shewe howe the scripture useth many wordes, which are wother wyse understonde of the commen people, and to helpe with a declaracion where one tonge taketh nott another." [1]

Much has been made of Tindale's statement that he was not "holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same." A reading of the context will show that he may have meant that he had no copies of the Wycliffite versions in his possession, as he doubtless carried little, if anything, with him in the way of books or manuscripts when he left England. His exhortation to others to assist in improving the translation shows that he would not have neglected to consult other English versions if he had possessed them. That he was familiar with other versions is implied by his reference to them. That he was unfamiliar with the Wycliffite versions seems impossible in view of the fact that he was an Oxford man and that he was in entire sympathy with the religious views of Wycliffe and his followers, by whom the Wycliffite translations were read and expounded.

Tindale retained most of the characteristics of the Wycliffite translation, especially its grammatical structure and its rhythmic flow as well as its beautiful phrases. Whether Tindale consciously endeavored to follow the Wycliffite versions, or not, it seems probable that these versions had actually established, in a general way, a style that was to be developed through

[1] Ibid., p. 116.

several steps into the Bible English which we recognize instantly to-day. With both Wycliffe and Tindale the English of the Bible was the language of the people, as it was spoken by educated men. It was, therefore, free from the inaccuracies and inelegancies of the vulgar, and likewise free from the affectations of the Court. It is Tindale's version, however, and not the Wycliffite, largely, perhaps, because the latter versions were not printed, and also because they were not direct translations from the original languages, that is rightly regarded as the basis of subsequent English translations, except perhaps that of Rheims-Douay, which will be discussed later. How great is the indebtedness of later versions to Tindale is shown clearly in the following passage, in which the italics indicate what was retained in the King James Version:—

13. *But nowe in Christ Jesu, ye* whych a whyle agoo *were farre off, are made neye by the bloude off Christ.*

14. *For he is oure peace,* whych *hath made* off *both wone ād hath broken doune the wall* ī the myddes, that was a stoppe *bitwene vs.*

15. And hath also put awaye thorowe *his flesshe,* the cause of hatred (thatt is to saye, *the lawe of comaundemente contayned in* the lawe writte).

16. *For to make of twayne wone newe mā in hym silfe, so makynge peace: and* to *reconcile bothe unto god in one body* throwe his *crosse,* ād slewe hattred *therby.*

17. *And cam and preached peace to you which were afarre of, and to them that were neye.*

18. *For thorowe hym we bothe have an* open waye in, in *one sprete unto the father.*

19. *Nowe therefore ye are no moare strangers ād foreners: but* citesyns *with the saynctes, and of the housholde of god.*

20. *And are bilt apō the foundacion of the apostles ād prophetes, Jesus Christ beynge the* heed *corner stone.*

21. *Ī whom* every *bildynge* coupled *togedder, groweth unto ā holy tēple in the lorde.*

22. *Ī whō* ye *also are bilt togedder,* and made *an habitacion* for *god ī the sprete.* Ephesians, 2:13–22. Tindale 1525.[1]

That Tindale's version is a product, in some respects, of the religious controversies of the time was recognized at once by those who were opposed to the attitude of Luther and other reformers in regard to ecclesiastical matters. Certain words, the use of which had become technical, were avoided by Tindale for that reason, although in their non-technical senses they might perhaps have been used by him as English equivalents of the originals. The following contemporary criticism of Tindale's translation indicates the attitude of many toward it:—

"By this translation shal we losse al thies christian wordes, penance, charitie, confession, grace, prest, chirche, which he alway calleth a congregation." [2]

"For he hath mystranslated iii wordes of gret weyght and every one of them is as I suppose more than thryes three tymes repeted and rehersed in the boke. . . . The tone ys quod I this word prestys. The tother, the chyrch. The thyrd charyte. For prestis wher so ever he speketh of the prestes of Crystis chirch he never calleth them prestes but always senyours, the chyrch he calleth alway the congregacyon, and charyte he calleth all love love." [3]

The first edition of Tindale's New Testament was printed at Worms in 1525 in octavo size in an edition of 3,000 copies. Tindale had been obliged to flee from

[1] B. F. Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, pp. 176–8.

[2] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 124. A quotation from a letter of Robert Ridley in 1527(?), from the British Museum Cotton Ms. Cleopatra E. v. 362b.

[3] Ibid., p. 127, A Dyalogue of Syr Thomas More.

Cologne with the printed sheets, in quarto size, of a part of his translation. This original edition was perhaps completed at Worms, likewise in an edition of 3,000 copies. The octavo consisted simply of the text with a three-page address "To the Reder" appended. The translator's name is not given. The quarto contained a long prologue and ninety-one marginal notes or glosses, more than half of which were from Luther's New Testament, the remainder being Tindale's. Of the octavo only two copies, both imperfect, are known. The Baptist College at Bristol possesses one, lacking only the first leaf. A more imperfect copy is at St. Paul's Cathedral. The thirty-one leaves still extant of the Cologne fragment are in the British Museum. No copy is extant of the Worms quarto, for the existence of which Johann Dobneck, who called himself Cochlæus, is authority. He was instrumental in causing Tindale to flee from Cologne to Worms and in his *Commentaria Joannis Cochlæi, de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, 1549, gives an account of it, having previously in 1533 and 1538 written about Tindale.[1] Copies of Tindale's translation were brought to England in 1526, but, as it was unlawful to possess one, and as every effort was made to find and burn them, the Bishop of London buying all copies he could for this purpose, it is not surprising that so few copies are extant.

Tindale undoubtedly used Luther's German version, the Vulgate, and the Latin translation of Erasmus, as well as the Greek text. He was accused of having simply translated Luther's version, but this accusation is not true, although the prefatory matter and the

[1] See A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 99–108, for Dobneck's account of the printing of the first New Testament.

notes, as well as the translation, show the influence of Luther. Tindale proceeded with the work of translating the Bible, and to a revision of his New Testament printed in November, 1534, at Antwerp, he added English versions of the Old Testament lessons. He had published in 1530–31 a translation of the Pentateuch, also "The prophet Jonas, with an introduction before, teachinge to understande him and the right use also of all the scripture." The only copy of Tindale's Jonah is in the British Museum. Tindale died without having completed an English version of the Bible. He had, however, translated more than he had printed, and left in manuscript an English version of Joshua to II Chronicles, inclusive:—

"This man [Tindale] translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Prynt, and likewise he translated the v bookes of Moses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the books of Paralipomenon [Chronicles] Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Jonas, and no more of the holy scripture." [1]

Tindale's New Testament was from the Greek. At the conclusion of his prologue to Genesis he says, to the readers of it, that:—

"it is to be corrected of them, yea and moreover to be disallowed and also burned, if it seem worthy when they have examined it with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct."

Tindale here ignores the Septuagint and Vulgate and all other translations of the Old Testament, and can mean only that he translated from Hebrew. Thus, it is evident that Coverdale's probable reference to Tin-

[1] Ibid., p. 195. Extract from *Halle's Chronicle*, 1548.

dale as one of "rype knowledge" for the work was no empty compliment. More than forty editions of Tindale's New Testament were printed between 1525 and 1566.

JOY'S NEW TESTAMENT

An unauthorized edition of the English New Testament in August, 1534, edited by one George Joy led to controversy between Joy and Tindale. Joy held peculiar views in regard to the resurrection, for which, in the translation, he substituted such expressions as "very life" or "the life after this life."

COVERDALE'S BIBLE, 1535

The first complete printed English Bible appeared in 1535 with the title:—

"Biblia—The Bible, that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe MDXXXV."

This was by Miles Coverdale, a Cambridge graduate. Coverdale separated the Apocrypha, placing it between the Old Testament and the New, as is done in Protestant Bibles. His version of the Apocrypha was the first printed in English. It is not known where or by whom Coverdale's Bible was printed, but a comparison of the type of it, with two leaves of a Swiss-German Bible, a complete copy of which, 1529–30, was once in the possession of Dr. Christian Ginsburg, leads to the opinion that Zurich was the place and Froschouer the printer.[1]

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 13. See also the article on Coverdale by H. R. Tedder in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Tindale's New Testament was condemned in 1526 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and the Bishop of London, Tunstall. This condemnation was repeated in 1530, at which time, however, the King promised that he would have the New Testament translated into English "faithfully and purely" by "learned men." Hugh Latimer asked the King to keep his promise. Nothing further was done in the matter by the King or the ecclesiastical authorities until 1534. In the meantime, Coverdale was completing his translation. Coverdale was in the favor of Sir Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas More, the latter of whom, while he had disapproved of Tindale's New Testament, as heretical, yet as early as 1529 had expressed his belief that a Bible in English was desirable if:—

"it might be with dylygence well and truly translated by som good catholyke and well lerned man, or by dyverse dyvydynge the laboure amonge theym, and after conferryng theyr severall partys togethere eche with other. And after that myght the work be allowed and approved by the ordynaryes, and by theyre authorytees so put unto prent, as all the copyes shold come hole unto the bysshoppys hande. Whyche he maye after hys dyscrecyon and wysedome delyver to suche as he perceyveth honest sad and vertuous, with a good monicyon and fatherly counsayl to use yt reverently wyth humble hart and lowly mynd, rather sekyng therin occasyon of devocyon than of dyspycyon" [i. e. dispute].[1]

The upper house of Convocation consisting of the Bishops, Abbots and Priors of the province of Canterbury under the Primacy of Sir Thomas Cromwell petitioned the King on December 19th, 1534, that:—

[1] Ibid., p. 84. From a dyalogue of Syr Thomas More, 1529.

" the king's majesty should think fit to decree that the holy scripture shall be translated into the vulgar English tongue by certain upright and learned men to be named by the said most illustrious king and be meted out and delivered to the people for their instruction."[1]

This practically removed the barriers to the circulation of the Bible in English, if only the version were approved by the Bishops. Accordingly Coverdale's translation was issued with a revised title-page the words "Douche and Latyn" being omitted, and a dedication to the King added. The printed sheets of this second issue were brought unbound to England where with new title-page and preliminary leaves, printed almost certainly by James Nicholson, at Southwark, they were bound and circulated, some with the date 1535, others with the date 1536. Thus there were two issues of the first edition, with the difference noted. Folio and quarto editions were reprinted in 1537 by James Nicholson with the statement on the title-page that were 'newly oversene and corrected.' The quarto added "Set foorth with the Kynges moost gracious license." These are the first complete English Bibles printed in England. In 1538 Coverdale issued an edition of the New Testament with English and Latin in parallel columns. There were in that year three issues of the New Testament with English and Latin in parallel columns, two printed by Nicholson, and one by Regnault of Paris. Two editions of Tindale's Testament also were printed in 1538. It does not appear that the petition of the Bishops had for its purpose the authorizing of Coverdale's translation, yet that is what it virtually accomplished, as Coverdale was approved

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 177. Petitio synodi Cantuariensis . . . de transferendis Bibliis in linguam Anglicanam.

by Cromwell, who later gave him the general supervision of a translation, known from the size of its printed form, as the "Great Bible," 1539, which, by the King's authority May 6, 1541, was ordered by Cromwell, to be set up in every church, where it would be accessible to the people who were exhorted to read it.

The title page of the first issue of Coverdale's Bible stated that it was translated "out of Douche and Latyn." This places it in the same general category as the Wycliffite versions, which were translation of translation. In the dedication of his Bible, 1535, to the King, Coverdale says:—

"I have nether wrested nor altered so moch as one worde for the mayntenaunce of any manner of secte: but have with a cleare conscience purely and faythfully translated this out of fyve sundry interpreters, havyng onely the manyfest trueth of the scripture before myne eyes."

We do not know who the "fyve sundry interpreters" were, but since Coverdale mentions the "Douche and Latyn," it may be safe to assert that Luther's German version, the Swiss-German version of Zurich, the Vulgate, the Latin version of Pagninus, printed at Lyons 1528, and Tindale's translation of the New Testament, Pentateuch and Jonah were consulted. Tindale's work was used by Coverdale with some changes, and these undoubtedly had much to do with securing for the version the favor that had been denied to Tindale's, for Coverdale had no objection to such ecclesiastical terms as "penance," "charitie," "confession," "grace," "priest" and "church," for which Tindale had used "repentance," "love," "knowledge," "favor," "elder," and "congregation." To these terms of Tindale, objection was made, as we

have seen, for they constituted a form of attack on the teachings of the Church.

The arrest of Tindale in 1535 and his martyrdom in 1536 are undoubtedly the reasons for our having no complete translation of the Bible by him. It is almost certainly to Tindale that Coverdale referred in 1535:—

"*A prologe Myles Coverdale Unto the Christen reader*"

"Considerynge how excellent knowledge and lernynge an interpreter of scripture oughte to have in the tongues, and ponderyng also myne owne insufficiency therin, and how weake I am to perfourme the office of translatoure, I was the more lothe to medle with this worke. Notwithstondynge whan I consydered how greate pytie it was that we shulde wante it so longe, and called to my remembraunce the adversite of them, which were not onely of rype knowlege, but wolde also with all theyr hertes have perfourmed that they beganne, yf they had not had impediment: considerynge (I saye) that by reason of theyr adversyte it coulde not so soone have bene broughte to an ende, as oure most prosperous nacyon wolde fayne have had it: these and other reasonable causes consydered, I was the more bolde to take it in hande."

In a letter of Stephen Vaughan to Henry VIII written in 1531, and still extant in the Record Office in London, we read:—

"I ass[ure] youe, sayed he [Tindale], if it wolde stande withe the kinges most gracious pleas[ure] to graunte only a bare text of the scriptures to be put forthe emonge h[is] people, like as is put forthe emonge the subgectes of the emperour in th[ese] parties, and of other cristen princes be it of the translation of what perso[n] soever shall please his magestie, I shall ymedyatly make faithful[l] promyse, never to wryte more, ne abide ij dayes in these parties after

th[e] same, but ymedyatly to repayre into his realme, and there most humbly submytt my selfe at the fete of his roiall magestie, offerynge my bodye, to suffer what payne or torture, ye what dethe his grac[e] will, so this be obteyned." [1]

This offer of Tindale was rejected. The expression "bare text of the scriptures," and the fact that the octavo New Testament of 1525 was printed without notes, or chapter headings, or prologue, are the reasons for a statement sometimes seen in print that Tindale did not favor annotated texts. His quarto New Testament and his Pentateuch contained many notes such as were customary in the early Bibles. These notes were in many cases controversial, and this was in large part the reason why these Bibles were objected to by those who did not accept the view of the translators.

The ecclesiatical opposition to Tindale's New Testament, copies of which were burned, because considered heretical, is, perhaps, what led Coverdale to attempt to make, as he succeeded in doing, a version in English that should not be open to the criticisms that were directed at Tindale's. He was at work on his translation long before Tindale's arrest for heresy, and, in fact, had an edition of the complete Bible published in the year 1535, in which the arrest was made.

Coverdale's Bible consists of Tindale's version, slightly changed, of the Pentateuch and the New Testament, the remainder being a translation by Coverdale from the Latin and German. Following the Vulgate, he omitted the Prayer of Manasses from the Apocrypha. Although a translation of a translation, in large part, yet Coverdale's phrases still are to be

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 170. From a letter written by Stephen Vaughan to Henry VIII, 1531.

found in our English Bibles, and such beautiful sentences as "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified," Psalm 143:2, and "Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy Spirit from me," Psalm 51:11. Coverdale's Bible of 1535 marks another step in the development of the English Bible, but we have not yet a complete English Bible translated directly from Hebrew and Greek.

MATTHEW'S OR ROGERS'S BIBLE, 1537

In 1537 was printed, we do not know where, but probably at Antwerp, by Martin Emperour (Cæsar, or Keysere), who printed Tindale's revised New Testament in 1534, a new Bible; for Richard Grafton the printer, writing to Cromwell, August 28th, 1537, and sending him six Bibles, does so by his "servaunt which this daye came out of Flaundyrs." Grafton and Whitchurch, two English printers superintended the publication of this Bible, edited by John Rogers, a friend of Tindale. Probably because Tindale's translation had been condemned, and he put to death as a heretic, it was thought undesirable to connect his name with a new English Bible, so the title-page states that the book was "truly and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew." An English Bible had been asked for by the Bishops in December, 1534; Coverdale's Bible of 1535 had been dedicated to the King and allowed to circulate, and had been reprinted in England, in folio and in quarto, in 1537, by James Nicholson, but it could not be regarded as the special translation asked for by the Bishops and promised by the King. It is thought that the name Thomas Matthew was

adopted to free this version from any connection with the names of Tindale and Coverdale, of whose work it really consisted almost wholly, so that it might be offered as a new version, for which the formal sanction of the King and the Bishops might be obtained. Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, Aug. 4, 1537, asking him to get from the King:—

"a license that the same may be sold and redde of every person, withoute danger of any acte, proclamacion, or ordinaunce hertofore graunted to the contrary, untill such tyme that we, the Bishops shall set forth a better translacion, which I thinke will not be till a day after domesday." [1]

Cromwell obtained from the King permission that the Matthew Bible "shalbe alowed by his auctoritie to be bowght and redde within this realme" as stated in a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell Aug. 13, 1537, thanking him for what he had done. Cranmer had described the book as:—

"a Bible in Englishe, both of a new translacion and of a new prynte, dedicated unto the Kinges Majestie, as farther apperith by a pistle unto his grace in the begynning of the boke, which, in myn opinion is very well done, and therefore I pray your Lordeship to rede the same. And as for the translacion, so farre as I have redde therof, I like it better than any other translacion hertofore made." [2]

The title-page of the Matthew Bible bears the words "Set forth with the Kinge's most gracyous lycense." One reason for the favor shown to Matthew's Bible was the fact that Rogers, the editor, had paid more

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 215. A letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, Aug. 4, 1537.
[2] Ibid., p. 214.

attention to the Vulgate than had Tindale or Coverdale, and had also modified the notes so that they were not likely to be so offensive to the ecclesiastical authorities. It must be remembered, in connection with the Coverdale and Matthew Bibles, that Henry VIII was in 1531 declared supreme head of the Church of England, and in 1533 had defied the Pope, married Ann Boleyn, and denied the authority of the Pope in England.

The Matthew Bible comprised, with modifications, the translations of Tindale and Coverdale. The Pentateuch and New Testament are Tindale, with only slight changes. Ezra to Malachi, and the Apocrypha, are Coverdale. Joshua to the end of II Chronicles is probably a version left by Tindale at his death, and now printed for the first time by his disciple Rogers. The translation is a new one and we have as authority for its being by Tindale, the facts that Rogers was a disciple of Tindale's, that the Matthew Bible was almost certainly printed at Antwerp, and the statement from Halle's Chronicle quoted above.[1] Rogers used Coverdale's translation of Nehemiah and Jonah, and to the Apocrypha added the Prayer of Manasses, not given by the Vulgate or by Coverdale, but translated from the French Bible, 1535, of Olivetan, as was also the preface to the Apocrypha. We do not know why Rogers did not use Tindale's translation of the Epistles from the Old Testament, which had been printed in 1534, or of Jonah and Nehemiah.

The Matthew Bible has many notes, some of them from Olivetan. It contains also preliminary matter, a "Kalendar"; "An Exhortation to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, gathered out of the Bible"; "The

[1] Page 354.

sum and content of all the Holy Scripture"; and "A Table of Principal Matters contained in the Bible"; the last from Olivetan. At the head of each chapter is a summary. The Matthew Bible has more of the text translated directly from the original, as we may safely assume all of Tindale's work was, than any previous version. The editing, for so we must call it, rather than translating, done by Rogers was important, an instance of this being his omission from Psalm 14 of the three verses, not in the Hebrew, found in the Vulgate and retained by Coverdale.

TAVERNER'S BIBLE, 1539

In 1539 appeared a folio edition of the Bible with the title:—

"The most Sacred Bible which is the Holy Scripture, containing the Old and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognized with great diligence after most faithful exemplars by Richard Taverner."

This version was really a printers' or publishers' edition. Unlike his predecessors Taverner was a barrister, though he later became a clergyman. His knowledge of Greek led him to make some changes in the translation of the New Testament, a few of which have become permanent, such as "the love of many shall wax cold," Matthew 24:12, where Tindale and Coverdale wrote "the love of many shall abate" and Wycliffe "the charite of many schal wexe cold." Taverner used "parable" where Wycliffe, Tindale and Coverdale had used "similitude." He endeavored to substitute an English word for a foreign word whenever possible in the translation. He was probably not

a Hebrew scholar, and his revision of Matthew's Bible, for such it must be considered, was without much influence on subsequent versions. It was reprinted in quarto in 1539, in 12mo in 1540, and the Old Testament in folio in 1551.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ENGLISH VERSIONS 1539–1582

In 1534 the Bishops had asked for a translation of the Bible by persons to be named by the King, and in 1537 Cranmer had expressed the opinion that such a translation would not be made until "a day after domesday." In the year 1537, Matthew's Bible was, through the influence of Cranmer and Cromwell, officially sanctioned by the King.

THE GREAT BIBLE, CROMWELL'S BIBLE, CRANMER'S BIBLE, 1539

Still another version was soon projected which, unlike Matthew's Bible, should not contain notes and comments offensive to the Church authorities because too polemically Protestant in tone. In this case the naming of the translator or "corrector" was done by Cromwell's influence, and Coverdale was selected, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch being charged with the supervision of the printing, which was to be done:—

"within the universitie of Paris, because paper was there more meete and apt to be had for the doing thereof, then in the realme of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the readie dispatch of the same." [1]

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 223. Extract from Fox's *Actes and Monumentes*, fourth edition, 1583, p. 1191.

Cromwell had obtained from the King, early in 1538, the authorization of the printing of this book, and the King had written to Bishop Bonner, then Ambassador at Paris, to assist, and had obtained from the French King, Francis I, license for Grafton and Whitchurch to proceed with the work. Before it was completed, two events occurred which threatened serious consequences; first, the conservative churchmen had prevailed upon the King to issue a decree, November, 1538, prohibiting the importing into England of any English books printed abroad, special mention being made of editions of the Bible; second, the relations of France and England becoming strained, the printing house was seized in December, 1538, and with it the printed sheets of the Bible. Grafton had deposited with the English Ambassador some copies of the sheets, and saved some others from those which were to be burnt by the French authorities. Cromwell was able to arrange to have Coverdale and Grafton go to Paris where they:—

"got the presses, letters and servaunts of the aforesaid Printer, and brought them to London, and there they became printers themselves (which before they never entended) and printed out the said Bible in London, and after that printed sundry impressions of them."[1]

Although this book bears the date 1539, it is doubtful whether many, if any, copies were actually issued so early. Copies which bear the date 1539 are called Cromwell's Bible, but copies of 1540, and later, contain "a prologe thereinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archbysshop of Cantorbury" and are known as Cranmer's. From its size, the printed page

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 227. Extract from Fox's *Actes and Monumentes*.

being 13¼ x 7½ inches, this version is known as the "Great Bible." The title-page of 1539 reads:—

"The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scrypture, bothe of ye olde and newe testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.

Prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1539."

Coverdale had before him the Matthew Bible, which became the basis of the Great Bible. A revision of the Latin Old Testament, with Hebrew text and commentaries by Sebastian Münster, printed in 1534–5, the Complutensian Polyglot, and the Latin version of the New Testament by Erasmus, were all used by Coverdale in this revision. Ezra to Malachi, and the Apocrypha, in Matthew's Bible, was the work of Coverdale. In this portion we find in the Great Bible a large number of changes. To the influence of Münster are due the changes made in Tindale's work, Genesis to II Chronicles, and to the Latin of Erasmus, and to the Vulgate, changes made in Tindale's translation of the New Testament. The Latin origin of changes is indicated by smaller type, as is the verse I John 5:7.

The following versions of Psalm 23 indicate the kind of changes made in the translation:—

"The Lord is my Shepherd, I can want nothing. He feedeth me in a green pasture, and leadeth me to a fresh water. He quickeneth my soul, and bringeth me forth in the ways of righteousness for His name's sake. Though I should walk now in the valley of the shadow of death, yet I fear no evil, Thy staff and Thy sheephook comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me against mine enemies:

Thou anointest mine head with oil, and fillest my cup full. Oh, let Thy loving-kindness and mercy follow me all the days of my life, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord for ever." Coverdale's Bible, 1535.

"The Lord is my Shepherd; therefore can I lack nothing. He shall feed me in a green pasture, and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort. He shall convert my soul, and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou are with me; Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me. Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me: Thou has anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full. But Thy loving-kindness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever." The Great Bible, 1539.[1]

An edition printed in April, 1540, contains further changes which were increased in another edition in November, 1540. It may be remarked here that books were often revised while being struck off, and, as sheets were printed by hand, one at a time, it is not uncommon to find, in 16th-century books copies of the same edition of a work that have different readings in the same passage, because the author, or the printer, made a change, or changes, after some sheets had been printed. Between 1540 and 1557 reprints of Tindale's New Testament, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Taverner's and the Great Bible were numerous, but no new version appeared.

THE GENEVA BIBLE, 1557–1560

The religious dissensions, and the various enactments by the party that happened to be in the as-

[1] The spelling is here modernized in both versions of the Psalm.

cendant at a given time, made life very uncomfortable and even dangerous for those whose views differed from the prevailing ones. Cruel persecutions and martyrdoms were among the results. Important, in the history of the English Bible, were the colonies of religious refugees who lived at Antwerp, Rheims, Douay, Rouen, Amsterdam and Geneva, from which came many English books. From Geneva, where Calvin was the leader, came in 1557 an English New Testament, printed by Conrad Badius, translated by William Whittingham of Christ Church, Oxford, which contained for the first time, in English, the verse divisions, which have interfered so greatly with the proper reading of the Bible. The division of verses in the New Testament was made first in the Greek Testament of Stephanus, (or Etienne) fourth edition, 1551, and it is this that is the basis of the Whittingham New Testament. Verse divisions in the Old Testament existed in Hebrew, and were made probably by the Massorites. They were made in the Latin version of Pagninus, 1528. They appeared in English first in the Geneva version, 1560. The division of the Bible into chapters was the work of Stephen Langton, 1228, or as some assert of Hugues de St. Cher, 1262, in the Latin.

In Whittingham's Testament, we have chapter-summaries, notes, and marks calling attention to differences in Greek manuscripts, and the use of italics to indicate words not in the original. This last feature was taken from Beza's French New Testament, 1556.

In 1560 appeared from the press in Geneva a volume, quarto size, with this title:—

"The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and

Greke and conferred with the best translations in divers langages. With moste profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, MDLX."

The book contains an address to the Queen and to the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc. The Geneva Version of 1560 is probably chiefly the work of Whittingham, whose version of the New Testament, considerably revised, appears, with a careful version of the Old Testament based on the Great Bible. Associated with Whittingham in the preparation of the Geneva Version were Anthony Gilbey, a Cambridge man, and Thomas Sampson, who, like Whittingham, was an Oxford man. Coverdale was one of the Englishmen who had gone to Geneva to be with the reformers under Calvin. Other prominent reformers in the colony were John Knox, John Pullain, Thomas Cole and Christopher Goodwin, at one time Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

The Geneva Bible contains numerous annotations, and the Apocrypha is printed separately, the books of the Bible being arranged as in the King James Version. The Prayer of Manasses is placed, not in the Apocrypha, but between II Chronicles and Ezra, with a note, "This prayer is not in the Hebrew, but is translated out of the Greeke." This prayer was omitted by Coverdale, because not in the Vulgate, but added in Matthew's Bible. This version, like the Whittingham Testament, 1557, was printed in Roman type, all other English versions having been in black letter.

Just how much difference the French environment made to the Geneva translators we cannot tell. We know that Whittingham used the French Testament

of Beza, 1556, and the French Bible of Olivetan, 1535. The newer Latin version of Pagninus, 1528, and the Bible of Leo Juda, 1543–45, were likewise probably used. The Geneva Bible was the most scholarly and critical yet produced. It is nicknamed the "Breeches Bible" because in Genesis 3:7 it follows the Wycliffite and reads "breeches" where other versions read "aprons." In 1576 the French Testament of Beza was translated into English by Laurence Tomson, an Oxford man, who used the Geneva Version as the basis for his English. Among the Puritans, as the reformed party were called in England, the Geneva Version was the household book. It was the first version printed in Scotland, where an edition was issued in 1579.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568

The Geneva Bible, as the popular version, the Great Bible, as the official Bible of the Church of England, and various editions of the other versions circulating in considerable numbers—this represents the condition of England, as concerns the English Bible, during the period between the appearance of the Geneva Version in 1560 and that of a new official version in 1568, the latter being the long-looked-for Bishops' Bible. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the leader in the making of the new version. The Geneva Version was generally recognized as far superior to any that had preceded it, and Parker himself would have been willing perhaps to accept it, had it not contained "inspersed preiudicall notis which might have ben also well spared." [1] There is in the Record Office in Lon-

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 295, Archbishop Parker to Queen Elizabeth.

don, Parker's list of Bishops and others to whom he assigned for translation different sections of the Bible. The initials of these men were to be placed at the end of their respective sections, but some changes were evidently made, as the initials do not always accord with the list as given. Of great interest are the:—

"*Observacions respected of the Translators*"

"Firste to followe the Commune Englishe Translacion used in the Churches and not to receed from yt but wher yt varieth manifestlye from the Hebrue or Greke originall."

"Item to use such sections and devisions in the Textes as Pagnine in his Translacion useth, and for the veritie of the Hebrue to followe the said Pagnine and Munster specially, And generally others learned in the tonges."

"Item to make no bitter notis uppon any text, or yet to set downe any determinacion in places of controversie."

"Item to note such Chapters and places as conteineth matter of Genealogies or other such places not edefieng, with some strike or note that the Reader may eschue them in his publike readinge."

"Item that all such wordes as soundeth in the Old Translacion to any offence of Lightnes or obscenitie be expressed with more convenient termes and phrases."

"The printer hath bestowed his thickest Paper in the newe Testament because yt shalbe most occupied.[1]"

In general, the Bishops' Bible is simply a revision of the Great Bible. Different parts were treated by different men, but it does not appear that there was any conference between the various revisers in regard to their work, so that there is no consistency in the changes made. In a quarto edition of the Bishops' Bible in 1569, many of the misprints and errors of the 1568

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 297.

edition were corrected, but in the 1572 folio, while the New Testament had been further revised, the corrections of 1569 in the Old Testament were not made.

The most notable feature of the Bishops' Bible, so far as the people were concerned, was the new version of Psalms, made not by Guest, Bishop of Rochester, to whom Parker at first assigned them, but, as we know, from the initials at the end, by one T. B., who is with reason thought to have been Thomas Bickley, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.[1] So strongly attached were the people to the version of Psalms given in the Great Bible, which was Coverdale's version of 1535 with modifications, that a new version has never yet found its place in the Prayer Book. In the second folio edition of the Bishops' Bible in 1572, the older version of Psalms was printed in black-letter, in columns parallel to the new version, in Roman. The liking of the people for the old Psalter was due to the fact that, as the first Prayer Book in English was printed in 1549, the Great Bible, then the authorized version of the Church, was used for all scripture passages. The Psalter was arranged to be read through every month, and the people therefore became familiar with it from the reading. In the Great Bible additions from the Latin version had been printed in different type and thus indicated to the reader. This has never been done in the Prayer Book, which contains, in the Psalter, passages not in the Hebrew Text. A striking instance of this will be found by comparing Psalm 14, as given in the Psalter,[2] with the same Psalm as given in the Geneva version:—

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 32.

[2] The version of the Psalter in the Prayer Book is evidently that of the 1540 revision of the Great Bible, but is not exact. It differs in many places

Psalm 14. Psalter—Great Bible

1. "The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God."
2. "They are corrupt, and become abominable in their doings: there is none that doeth good, no not one."
3. "The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men: to see if there were any that would understand, and seek after God."
4. "But they are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become abominable: there is none that doeth good, no not one."
5. "Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues have they deceived: the poison of asps is under their lips."
6. "Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood."
7. "Destruction and unhappiness is in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes."
8. "Have they no knowledge, that they are all such workers of mischief: eating up my people as it were bread, and call not upon the Lord?"
9. "There were they brought in great fear, even where no fear was: for God is in the generation of the righteous."
10. "As for you, ye have made a mock at the counsel of the poor: because he putteth his trust in the Lord."
11. "Who shall give salvation unto Israel out of Sion? When the Lord turneth the captivity of his people: then shall Jacob rejoice, and Israel shall be glad.[1]"

Psalm 14. Geneva Bible, 1560

1. "The foole hath said in his heart, There is no God: they have corrupted, and done an abominable worke: *there is* none that doeth good."
2. "The Lord looked downe from heaven upon the children

from the version of 1539. Examples are given by S. R. Driver, *The Paralell Psalter*, Oxford, 1898, p. xv.

[1] The spelling is here modernized.

of men, to see if there were any that would understand and seeke God."

3. "All are gone out of the way: they are all corrupt: there is none that doth good, no not one."

4. "Doe not all the workers of iniquity knowe that they eate up my people, as they eat bread? they call not upon the Lord."

5. "There they shall be taken with feare because God is in the generation of the just."

6. "You have made a mocke at the counsell of the poore, because the Lord *is* his trust."

7. "Oh give salvation unto Israel out of Zion: when the Lord turneth the captivitie of his people, then Jaakob shall rejoyce, and Israel shalbe glad."

"Note that of this Psalme the 5. 6. and 7. verses which are put into the common translation, and may seem unto some to bee left in this, are not in the same Psalme in the Hebrew text, but are rather put in, more fully to expresse the maners of the wicked: and are gathered out of the 5. 140. and 10. Psalmes, the 59. of the Prophet Isaiah, and the 36. Psalme, and are alleaged by S. Paul, and placed together in the 3. to the Romanes."

The Bishops' Bible contained notes dealing chiefly with the interpretation of the text. They are briefer and not so numerous as those of the Geneva Bible. "Bitter notes" were avoided in accordance with the instructions given by Parker. On Psalm 45:9 is the following:—

"Ophir is thought to be the island in the west coast of late found by Christopher Colombo: from whence at this day is brought most fine gold."

The Bishops' Bible, like Coverdale's, 1535, has the nickname, the "Treacle Bible" from the translation, "Is there not treacle at Giliad," Jeremiah 8:22.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ENGLISH VERSIONS 1582–1611

From Tindale on, the English versions had come from the Reformers or Protestants. Wycliffe has been called the morning star of the Reformation.

THE RHEIMS–DOUAY BIBLE, 1582–1609

In 1582 appeared at Rheims, where one of the English Roman Catholic colonies of refugees was located, a translation of the New Testament with the following title:—

"The New Testament of Jesus Christ Translated Faithfully into English, out of the Authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same; diligently conferred with the Greeke and other Editions in divers languages; with Arguments of Bookes and Chapters, Annotations, and other necessarie helpes for the better understanding of the text, and specially for the discoverie of the Corruptions of divers late translations, and for cleering the Controversies in Religion of these daies; In the *English College of Rhemes*. Printed at Rhemes by John Fogney 1582 cum privilegio."

The leader in the preparation of this version of the New Testament was Cardinal Allen, who in writing to Dr. Vendeville Sept. 16, 1578, called attention to the disadvantage under which Roman Catholic Clergy labor when they are:—

"preaching to the unlearned and are obliged on the spur of the moment to translate some passage which they have quoted into the vulgar tongue. They often do it inaccurately and with unpleasant hesitation, because either there is no English version of the words or it does not then and there occur to them. Our adversaries on the other hand have at their fingers' ends all those passages of scripture which seem to make for them, and by a certain deceptive adaptation and alteration of the sacred words, produce the effect of appearing to say nothing but what comes from the Bible. This evil might be remedied if we too had some Catholic version of the Bible, for all the English versions are most corrupt." [1]

How strong the Roman Catholic feeling was against the English versions of the Bible is indicated also in a book written by Gregory Martin which bore the following title:—

"A Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretickes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial and false translations to the advantage of their heresies in their English Bibles, *printed at Rhemes by John Fogny*, 1582."

To this there was an immediate reply in a book by William Fulke:—

"A Defense of the sincere and true Translation of the Holie Scriptures into the English tong, against the manifolde cauils and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin, *at London, Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman, for George Bishop*, 1583."

The Rheims New Testament was the actual work of Gregory Martin, one of the original scholars of St.

[1] T. F. Knox, *First and Second Diaries of the English College at Douay*, London, 1878, p. xl.

John's College, Oxford, and at this time, 1578, lecturer in Hebrew and Holy Scripture at the Douay-Rheims College. His work took three years and a half to complete, as we learn from the Douay Diary and was revised by Cardinal Allen, and Richard Bristow, Moderator of the College. Prefixed to the text is:—

"The Preface to the Reader treating of these three points: of the translation of Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongues, and namely into English; of the causes why this New Testament is translated according to the auncient vulgar Latin text: and of the maner of translating the same."

Much of what is said in this Preface is controversial and we are not concerned with it, but there are several important statements made which bear on the history of the Bible in English. One is that the whole Bible had been translated into English by the Roman Catholic College, when in 1582 the New Testament was printed. The Old Testament was not printed until 1609. Another, and most important in the present connection, is that these translators looked at their task from a point of view quite different from that of the Protestant translators. Tindale's remark that he would "cause a boy that driveth the plough" to know the Bible, represents one view. The other view is given in the following passage from the Preface to the Rheims Testament:—

"The holy Bible long since translated by us into English, and the old Testament lying by us for lacke of good meanes to publish the whole in such sort as a worke of so great charge and importance requireth: we have yet through Gods goodnes at length fully finished for thee (most Christian reader) all the New Testament, which is the principal, most profitable and comfortable peece of holy writte": . . .

"Which translation we doe not for all that publish, upon erroneous opinion of necessitie, that the holy Scriptures should alwaies be in our mother tonge, or that they ought, or were ordained by God, to be read indifferently of all, or could be easily understood of every one that readeth or heareth them in a knowen language: or that they were not often through mans malice or infirmitie, pernicious and much hurtful to many: or that we generally and absolutely deemed it more convenient in it self, and more agreable to Gods word and honour or edification of the faithful, to have them turned into vulgar tonges, then to be kept and studied only in the Ecclesiastical learned languages: Not for these nor any such like causes doe we translate this sacred booke, but upon special consideration of the present time, state, and condition of our countrie, unto which divers thinges are either necessarie, or profitable and medicinable now, that otherwise in the peace of the Church were neither much requisite, nor perchance wholy tolerable. . . ."

The vocabulary used in the Rheims Testament is noteworthy, because, as the translators tell us in the Preface, they followed closely the:—

"old vulgar approved Latin: not only in sense, which we hope we alwaies doe, but sometime in the very wordes also and phrases, which may seeme to the vulgar Reader, and to common English eares, not yet acquainted therewith, rudenesse or ignorance: but to the discrete Reader that deepely weigheth and considereth the importance of sacred wordes and speaches, and how easily the voluntarie Translatour may misse the true sense of the Holy Ghost, we doubt not but our consideration and doing therein, shal seeme reasonable and necessarie: yea and that al sortes of Catholike Readers wil in shorte time thinke that familiar, which at the first may seeme strange and wil esteeme it more, when they shal otherwise be taught to understand it, then if it were the common knowen English."

The position is taken that, since there are no English equivalents for many words in Scripture, it is better to transfer them untranslated to the English text, in the hope that they will become familiar and intelligible, than to represent them by words which give only a part of the meaning, or which substitute another meaning for that of the original. This is stated in part as follows:—

"Againe, if *Hosanna*, *Raca*, *Belial*, and such like be yet untranslated in the English Bibles, why may we not say *Corbana* and *Parasceve:* specially when they, Englishing this later thus, *the preparation of the Sabboth*, put three wordes more into the text then the Greeke word doth signifie. Mat. 27:62."

Owing to the fact that there had been a number of English versions earlier than that of Rheims and that, except for the brief reign of Mary 1553–1558, the English, since the time of Henry VIII, have been through their State Church, and through the religious affiliations of the great majority of the people, a Protestant nation, the Roman Catholic translation never became very widely read. It was probably issued as part of an effort to win back England to the Roman Catholic Church by controverting the teachings of the annotated Protestant versions. How strong the feeling was in regard to the translations is shown by a story of the Earl of Kent who, when Mary Queen of Scots, on the night before her execution, swore her innocence on a copy of the Rheims Testament, said that the oath was void, as the book was not a proper translation. Mary is said to have replied, "Does your lordship think that my oath would be better if I swore on your translation, in which I do not believe?"

The preface of the Rheims Testament attacks the Protestant translations on many points. As the latter, through long use, were familiar to the people, and as religious differences were acute, it is probable that these attacks interfered with the attention which would have been paid otherwise to the Rheims translation. We quote here words used in a careful study of the influence of Rheims on the English Bible:—"When we compare chapter after chapter, the translation of Rheims with the earlier versions, we are struck more by their resemblances than their differences. We feel that, in spite of the hostile attitude which it thought fit to assume towards them, it is a lineal descendant of the versions which preceded it, and well entitled to take an honorable place in the connected series of English Bibles." [1]

With the date 1609 appeared:—

"THE HOLY BIBLE FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, out of the Authentical Latin; diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke and other Editions in divers languages; with Arguments of the Bookes, and Chapters, Annotations, Tables, and other helps for better understanding of the text, for the discoverie of Corruptions in some late translations, and for clearing Controversies in Religion; by THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF DOUAY, *Printed at Douay*, by *Lawrence Kellam*, at the signe of the Holie Lambe, 1609."

This was in two volumes, containing only the Old Testament, thus completing the Roman Catholic version. The whole Bible in the Rheims-Douay Version was published complete in 1633–35 at Rouen. The

[1] J. G. Carleton, *Rheims and the English Bible: the Part of Rheims in the making of it*, 1902, Oxford, p. 20.

King James Version of 1611 had been in preparation since 1604 and it is likely that this fact had something to do with the issuing of the Douay translation in 1609–10. In 1589 William Fulke, a Protestant, referred to above, published the Rheims New Testament and the Bishops' version in parallel columns, with the Rheims notes alternating with his replies to them. He termed the Rheims version "The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latin by the Papists of the traiterous seminarie at Rhemes." Fulke's folio (reprinted in 1601, 1617, and 1633) was for many years a standard Protestant work.

The Douay Bible as issued to-day differs greatly, through revisions and changes, from the original versions of the Rheims Testament of 1582 and the Douay Old Testament of 1609. The literalness of the translation from the Latin caused many passages to appear un-English, as in Philippians 2:7, where the Rheims read "He exinanited himself."[1] The Geneva, Great Bible, Coverdale and Tindale read, "made himself of no reputation." In Matthew 21:20, the Rheims read "How is it withered incontinent?", where other versions read "How soon is the figge tree withered away?" In the translation of the Psalms the differences between the Douay Version of 1609 and the other English versions are more pronounced, than in any other book,[2] the un-English quality of the translation being here in marked contrast to the English of the time. Bishop Westcott says:—"The Psalter is

[1] Vulgate, "semetipsum exinanivit."

[2] It must be remembered that the Psalter of the Vulgate is the Gallican which replaced the Roman in 1566. Both were revisions by Jerome of the Old Latin version which was based on the Septuagint. Jerome's translation of the Psalter directly from Hebrew never replaced the Gallican. This accounts for some of the differences in English versions of the Psalms.

the most unsatisfactory part of the whole book. Even where the sense is sufficiently clear to remain distinct through three translations, from Hebrew to Greek, from Greek to Latin, from Latin to English, the stiff, foreign style sounds strangely unsuited to words of devotion." [1]

Psalm 23, which has been quoted, because familiar, as a specimen of the translation of Coverdale 1535 and the Great Bible 1539, may again be used as a basis of comparison. It is Psalm 22 in the Vulgate, and is based on the Gallican version:—

"Our Lord ruleth me, and nothing shall be wanting to me: in place of pasture there He hath placed me. Upon the water of refection He hath brought me up: He hath converted my soul. He hath conducted me upon the paths of justice for His name. For although I shall walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will not fear evils: because Thou art with me. Thy rod and Thy staff, they have comforted me. Thou has prepared in my sight a table against them that trouble me. Thou has fatted my head with oil: and my chalice inebriating how goodly is it! [2] And Thy mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and that I may dwell in the house of our Lord in longitude of days." [3] Douay Version, 1609.

There are striking similarities between this version of the Psalm and that of the Wycliffite revision of 1388, based on the Roman Psalter, which is here given for comparison:—

"The Lord governeth me, and no thing schal faile to me; in the place of pasture there he hath set me. He nurschide me on the watir of refreischyng; he convertide my soule.

[1] B. F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 3d edition, edited by W. A. Wright, London, 1905, p. 257.
[2] Vulgate, "et calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est."
[3] The spelling is modernized.

He ledde me forth on the pathis of rightfulnesse; for his name. For whi though Y schal go in the myddis of schadewe of deeth; Y shcal not drede yuels, for thou art with me. Thi gerde and thi staf; tho han coumfortid me. Thou hast maad redi a boord in my sight; agens hem that troblen me. Thou hast maad fat myn heed with oyle; and my cuppe fillinge greetli, is ful cleer. And thi merci schal sue me; in alle the daies of my lijf. And that Y dwelle in the hows of the Lord; in to the lengthe of daies." Wycliffite Revision, 1388.

A careful revision of the Vulgate, of which Cardinal Allen was one of the editors, appeared in 1592, and was approved by Pope Clement VIII as the authorized version. The Rheims New Testament with changes in the text, and with increased and rearranged notes, was reissued in 1600 at Antwerp. The translation of the Old Testament, finished in 1582, but not printed until 1609, was made to accord with the text of the new standard Vulgate. A third edition of the New Testament, at Antwerp, was issued in pocket size, showing probably an increase in the number of Roman Catholic readers. As Ireland was mostly Roman Catholic, and as the older editions were difficult to understand, a new version of the New Testament, from the Vulgate, was made by a priest, Father Nary. This was approved, and published 1719 in Dublin. A fourth new version of the New Testament, in English, was published in 1730. It was by Robert Witham, the head of the Seminary at Douay. The most important revision, however, was by Richard Challoner, a Douay scholar, who in 1749, issued the New Testament, and in 1750 the whole Bible, which he continued to revise until 1777. A revision of Challoner's New Testament in 1781 by Father McMahon, followed in

1791 by the whole Bible, for Roman Catholics, under the approbation of Archbishop Troy of Dublin, is known as "Troy's Bible." [1] Cardinal Newman said of Challoner, that in the Old Testament, his work was "little short of a new translation, nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay" and "at this day the Douay Old Testament no longer exists as a Received Version of the Authentic Vulgate." In 1851 Archbishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, completed a revision of the New Testament, and in 1862, the whole Bible, with a preface and notes critical and explanatory. For the Old Testament Challoner's text is very nearly what may be termed a received text, but there is really no received text of the Rheims New Testament among English speaking Roman Catholics, and neither is there any received text of the Bible in English among Protestants though, owing to three centuries of use, the King James Version is commonly regarded as such, the Revised Versions not yet having displaced it. Monsignor Ward, President of St. Edmond's College, says[2] that the Douay Version "is full of Latinisms, so it has little of the rhythmic harmony of the Anglican Authorized Version, which has become part of the literature of the nation," but in accuracy and scholarship it is "superior to any of the English versions which had preceded it, and it is understood to have had great influence on the translators of the King James Version." The changes made by revisers of the Douay Version after 1611, as Monsignor Ward says, "took the form of approximating to the Authorized Version."

It is an interesting fact that no translation of the

[1] See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Douay Bible," and "Gregory Martin."

[2] In his article, on "Gregory Martin" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Vulgate into any language has ever been authorized by the Roman Catholic Church, but any translation that has received the approval of the Bishop, or other proper Church authority, may be read by Roman Catholics.

Any comparison of the Rheims-Douay Version with other English Bibles must take into account the fact that it is a translation of the Vulgate, and therefore may be expected to differ, not only in the choice of English words or expressions, but also in text. Many differences are due to variations in the originals from which the translations were made, and these are often due to the manuscripts from which the texts were derived.[1] Differences in the English, where there was no essential difference in meaning between the Hebrew or Greek and the Vulgate, were largely matters of preference, or of interpretation, on the part of the translators. Fulke's volume containing the Rheims and the Bishops' versions of the New Testament, probably had considerable influence in determining many of the changes due to the Rheims Version, which were made by the Revisers of the King James Bible. The Rheims translators were conscientious in their efforts to translate correctly, and many Latin derivatives appear in their version, because representing more accurately, they thought, than any other words, the meaning of the Vulgate. These Latin derivatives were in some instances adopted by the King James translators, and replaced words used in earlier versions. An example of this is in the familiar I Corinthians, ch. 13. The Wycliffite versions, translated from the

[1] It must always be borne in mind that Jerome was, in point of time, more than a thousand years nearer the original manuscripts of the Bible than were the translators of the sixteenth century, and he may have had access to manuscripts afterwards lost. This would account for differences in text.

Vulgate, had the word "charitie," which in Tindale, Coverdale, the Great Bible and the Geneva Bible was replaced by "love." The Rheims Testament, translated from the Vulgate, reverted to "charitie," and was followed in this by the King James Version 1611. The Revised Version 1881, and the American Revised Version 1901 have again changed the English word and read "love."

There are important differences between the Rheims-Douay and other English versions due to differences of readings in the same passage, or to the inclusion or omission of passages, in the respective original sources. One kind of textual difference referred to, resulting in differences of reading, is illustrated by Luke 2:14, the Song of the Angels, which appears thus in various English versions:—

"Glory be in the highest things to God: and in erthe pees be to men of good wille." Wycliffite Version, 1380.

"Glory to God an hye and peace on the erth: and unto men rejoysynge." Tindale, 1534.

"Glory to God on hye, and peace on the erth, and unto men a good wyll." The Great Bible, 1539.

"Glorie be to God in the hye *heavens*, and peace in earth, and towardes men good wyl." The Geneva Testament, 1557.

"Glorie in the highest to God: And in earth peace to men of good will." Rheims Testament, 1582.

"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." King James Version, 1611.

"Glory to God in the highest, And on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased." Revised Version, 1881. American Revised Version, 1901.

The similarity between the Rheims and Wycliffite is due to the fact that they are both translations of the Vulgate, the text of which differs from the Greek original of the other versions. We are reminded of a passage in *The Innocents Abroad*, Chapter 28:—

"I wish here to mention an inscription I have seen, before I forget it:

"'Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth to men of good will!' It is not good scripture, but it is sound Catholic, and human nature."

It happens to be good scripture, if you read the Vulgate, or a translation of it. Mark Twain was in Rome, but he was thinking of the King James Version.

A second difference between the Rheims-Douay and the other versions is in the inclusion, or omission, of passages, due to differences in original sources. This is illustrated by Matthew 6:13, the ascription at the close of the Lord's Prayer:—

"For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever. Amen."

The Rheims-Douay and the Wycliffite omit this, because it is not in the Vulgate. Other versions include it because it is in the Greek. The Revised Version and the American Revised Version omit it, because Greek manuscripts differ, and some of the best omit it.

Another example of textual difference between versions is found in Psalm 14 (Psalm 13, Rheims-Douay) which has already been mentioned.[1] The numbering of the Psalms in the Rheims-Douay, following the Vulgate, differs from the versions which were based directly

[1] See above p. 374.

on the Hebrew text. The greatest difference in the versions is the inclusion of the Apocrypha (except the Prayer of Manasses and I and II Esdras), in the Douay Version, among the canonical books, because the Vulgate contained it.

It is clear then that quite apart from the "bitter notes" which necessarily gave offense to many, there were differences in what Tindale had called "a bare text of the Scriptures." Stripped of their notes and other accompanying material the "bare texts" of the English versions differ, because they are not translations of the same originals.

CHAPTER XX

THE ENGLISH VERSIONS 1611–1881

When James I ascended the throne in 1603, there was religious dissension, not only between his Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects, but also between different groups of Protestants. The Geneva Bible with its notes had not been acceptable to the Bishops while the Bishops' Bible was never the version commonly read in the homes of the Puritans. The Roman Catholic New Testament had attacked all Protestant versions as inaccurate. Fulke had published his New Testament with the Rheims and Bishops' Bible versions parallel, and with controversial notes. It was evident that a new translation of the Bible into English must be made for the purpose of reconciling, if possible, differences of opinion caused by lack of uniformity in the current versions. This need had been recognized during the reign of Elizabeth, for there is in the British Museum the draft for an Act of Parliament the title of which is:—

"An act for the reducinge of diversities of Bibles now extant in the Englishe tongue to one setled vulgar translated from the originall."

The purpose of the Act is stated to be:—

"For avoydinge of the multiplicitie of errors, that are rashly conceaved by the inferior and vulgar sorte by the

varietie of the translacions of Bible to the most daungerous increase of papistrie and atheisme." [1]

The relations of Church and State made the questions of Bible translation political, as well as religious, a fact to which attention was called by King James, at the Hampton Court Conference, in January, 1604, between the King and representatives of the Bishops, and of the Puritan party. The King:—

". . . gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that no marginall notes should be added, having found in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation (which he sawe in a Bible given him by an English Lady), some notes very partiall, untrue, seditious, and savoring too much of daungerous and trayterous conceites. As for example, Exod. 1:19 where the marginal note alloweth *disobedience to Kings*. And 2 Chron. 15:16, the note taxeth *Asa* for deposing his mother, *onely* and *not killing her*." [2]

Such questions connected with the translating of the Bible were very much in the public mind and were leading directly to the Civil War between Parliament and King, the Geneva Bible being the version used by the Puritans and continuing to be printed long after the new version had appeared.

THE KING JAMES BIBLE

The result of the Conference was that a new version of the Bible was decided upon, and the Dean of Westminster and the Regius Professors of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge were asked for the names of competent

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 329.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

scholars to do the work. Later Bancroft, Bishop of London, sent to the other Bishops a letter enclosing one from the King, dated July 22, 1604, in which the King stated that he had appointed fifty-four learned men for the translating of the Bible. Various lists of names of the translators differ, about fifty such names being given, only forty-seven on any one list. "The most trustworthy is that printed by Bishop Burnet in his *History of the Reformation.*" [1]

The translators were divided into six groups, to each of which was assigned a different portion of the Bible. These groups were to meet at Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster respectively, for conference. When the work of the groups was completed the whole was reviewed by a final board of twelve revisers, which met daily for nine months at Stationers' Hall. Each member of a group translated the whole of the portion that had been assigned to the group. The group then met and after discussion decided upon a translation that should be submitted for final review. When the whole work had been completed and revised by the subcommittee of reviewers, it received the finishing touches from Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Miles Smith, later Bishop of Gloucester, and it is said that Bancroft, Bishop of London, insisted on fourteen alterations.[2] The actual work of revision took four years; 1607–9 being the period during which conferences of the six groups were held; 1610 the year during which the reviewing committee met at Stationers' Hall; and 1610–11 the period of printing. To translation by the individual members of the groups was presumably given 1604–7. The version thus produced was not, like preceding

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–58.

versions, largely the work of an individual, either with or without assistance, but was truly representative of the best opinions of the time. Bancroft, Bishop of London, had stated in the Conference at Hampton Court, that "if every man's humour should be followed, there would be no ende of translating."

In the preface of 1611 "The Translators to the Reader," is a discussion of the general problems by which the translators were confronted. They refer to previous versions in Greek and Latin, and to the work of their immediate predecessors in English and say:—

"Truly (good Christian Reader) wee never thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, (for then the imputation of *Sixtus* had bene true in some sort, that our people had bene fed with gall of Dragons in stead of wine, with whey in stead of milke:) but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath bene our indeavour, that our marke. To that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other mens eyes then in their owne, and that sought the truth rather then their own praise."

It was with the King James Version as with the Bishops' Bible. General rules were laid down in advance for the guidance of the translators. As the version of 1611 has remained for three centuries the most widely used English version, the rules by which the translators endeavored to avoid what had proved unsatisfactory, and to retain, with necessary or desirable changes, all that was good in previous versions are of importance in any account of the translation. They are therefore given:—

"*The Rules to be observed in the Translation of the Bible.*"

"1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Bishops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered as the Truth of the original will permit."

"2. The names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used."

"3. The Old Ecclesiastical Words to be kept, *viz.* the Word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation* &c."

"4. When a Word hath divers Significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith."

"5. The Division of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if Necessity so require."

"6. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Words, which cannot without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the Text."

"7. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit Reference of one Scripture to another."

"8. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the same Chapter or Chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their Parts what shall stand."

"9. As any one Company hath dispatched any one Book in this Manner they shall send it to the rest, to be consider'd of seriously and judiciously, for His Majesty is very careful in this Point."

"10. If any Company, upon the Review of the Book so sent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to send them Word thereof; note the Place, and withal send the Reasons, to which if they consent not, the Difference to be compounded

at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Persons of each Company, at the end of the Work."

"11. When any Place of special Obscurity is doubted of Letters to be directed by Authority, to send to any Learned Man in the Land, for his Judgement of such a Place."

"12. Letters to be sent from every Bishop to the rest of his Clergy, admonishing them of this Translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular Observations to the Company, either at *Westminster*, *Cambridge*, or *Oxford*."

"13. The Directors in each Company, to be the Deans of *Westminster*, and *Chester* for that Place; and the King's Professors in the *Hebrew* or *Greek* in either University."

"14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the Text than the Bishops Bible.

- Tindoll's
- Matthews
- Coverdale's
- Whitchurch's [Great Bible]
- Geneva."

"15. Besides the said Directors before mentioned, three or four of the most Ancient and Grave Divines, in either of the Universities, not employed in Translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon Conference with the rest of the Heads, to be Overseers of the Translations as well *Hebrew* as *Greek*, for the better Observation of the 4th Rule above specified." [1]

Rules 1, 3 and 6 reflect the religious controversies of the time, which were more than theological, and were concerned almost as much with matters of polity in Church and State, as with articles of faith.

The successive versions of the English Bible were

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 53–55.

based in almost every instance on the best available translations and original sources. We find that the King James translators used two new Latin versions, one the Old Testament by Arias Montanus given in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569–72, the other the Old and New Testaments by Tremellius, 1580 and 1584, with Apocrypha by Franciscus Junius. Beza's Greek Testament, based on that of Stephanus, had appeared in 1565 and was followed by four other editions in 1576, 1582, 1589 and 1598. The Greek text of the 1589 edition was the one usually followed in the 1611 version of the English Bible. John Selden gives in his Table Talk an account of the deliberations of the board of review and says:—

"They met together, and one read the translation, the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or of French, Spanish, Italian, etc."

There were new versions in French, 1587–8, Geneva, Italian, 1607, by Diodati, and Spanish, 1602, by Cipriano de Valera. The translators in their Preface mention the "Spanish, French, Italian," and "Dutch" translators and commentators as well as the "Chaldee, Hebrewe, Syrian, Greeke" and "Latin."

Although the Rheims Version is ignored in the directions to the translators of the King James Version, as the Geneva Version had been ignored in the directions to the translators of the Bishops' Bible, yet in each case the translators were influenced by the version that had not been mentioned. The title-page of the new version reads:—

"The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly translated out of the Originall tongues:

and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesties speciall Commandement. Appointed to be read in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611."

In copies of the title-page of the King James Bible, as printed in England, appear the words "Appointed to be read in Churches," and the version is commonly known as the "Authorized Version," perhaps from that fact. We have no record of any special action of Church, or Parliament, or King, which would justify that title. In 1881, June 3d, Lord Chancellor Selborne wrote to the London *Times*, expressing the opinion that the words on the title-page would probably not have been used without official sanction, and suggesting that they were authorized by an Order in Council the record of which is no longer extant, because "all the Council books and registers from the year 1600–1613, inclusive, were destroyed by a fire at Whitehall, on the 12th of January, 1618 (O. S.)." This is possible, but, as Mr. Pollard says, "As far as I know it has never been contended that there was any Order in Council passed in 1584 or 1585 to justify" the placing of the words 'Authorized and Appointed to be read in Churches' on the title-page of the Bishops' Bible, where they appeared for the first time in 1585, so probably the words "Appointed to be read in Churches" on the version of 1611 "literally expressed the facts that this Bible was printed by the King's printer with the approval of the King and the Bishops for use in churches, and that no competing edition 'of the largest volume' was allowed to be published." [1]

[1] A. W. Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 60.

The average reader probably thinks that we have in our modern copies of the King James Bible, the identical version that was issued in 1611. As a matter of fact, there was one notable difference between two issues of that version, both bearing the date 1611, which caused them to be known respectively as the "Great He Bible" and the "Great She Bible." In Ruth 3:15, one reads "he went" and the other "she went." Between these two issues of the same date are several thousand differences in text. It is believed by some that the "Great He Bible" is the first issue of the King James Version, although other critics, among them Dr. Scrivener, accord that honor to the "Great She Bible." [1]

Many changes have been made silently in the text in subsequent issues. They have usually been improvements. Illustrations of these are, "Thou art the Christ," Matthew 16:16, and "The Servant is not greater than his lord," John 15:20. The King James Version of 1611 reads "Thou art Christ" and "The Servant is not greater than the Lord." These readings appeared first in 1762, in an edition by Dr. Thomas Paris of Cambridge.[2] In 1769 another edition with further changes appeared by Dr. Benjamin Blayney of Oxford.[3]

In 1701 the marginal dates were placed in an edition of the King James Version by Bishop Lloyd. These dates are from *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1650–54 by Archbishop Ussher, and are in many in-

[1] For a discussion of this see F. H. A. Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible, 1611*, Cambridge, 1884; or, A. W. Pollard, *The Holy Bible an exact reprint of the Authorized Version, 1611*, Oxford, 1911. Introduction. Also, the same author's, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 65–73.

[2] The Holy Bible, edited by Thomas Paris, Cambridge, 1762.

[3] The Holy Bible, corrected and edited by Benjamin Blayney, Oxford, 1769.

stances incorrect, as fuller knowledge of ancient history has shown. The date of Creation was fixed at 4004 B. C. The King James Version did not immediately attain the position which for more than three centuries it has held, for many, even among the clergy of the Church of England, preferred the Geneva Version, which for some years continued to be printed. From 1611 to 1881 no general authoritative revision of the English Bible appeared, although many changes had found their way into the text through the editions of 1629, printed at Cambridge by Thomas and John Buck; 1638, printed at Cambridge by Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, as well as through the Paris, Blayney and Lloyd versions mentioned. These editions all differed.[1] The King's printers issued an edition in 1631, for which they were fined £300, because they omitted the word "not" from the seventh Commandment. In 1716 an edition, printed by Baskett contained many errors, among them "Vinegar" for "Vineyard," in the headline to Luke, ch. 20, hence this edition is known as the "Vinegar Bible," and there are other editions with nicknames.

In 1833, the Oxford press published a line for line reprint of the "Great He Bible" of 1611. In 1911 the 1611 version was reprinted page for page with an Introduction by Mr. A. W. Pollard. In 1851–52 the American Bible Society published an edition to which all subsequent editions of the Society conform. It was intended to be an accurate reprint of 1611. The variations found in six different editions of the King James Bible by the Committee on Versions of the American

[1] All changes from the text of 1611 are indicated in the margin in the *Parallel Bible A. V.* and *R. V.*, 1885, Oxford, and in appendix A of *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, 1873.

Bible Society (1851) were about twenty-four thousand in number.

VERSIONS OF INDIVIDUAL SCHOLARS

There were many translations of the whole, or parts, of the Bible made by individuals, but these had no authority other than that of the translators. It is interesting to find that in the eighteenth century, as in the nineteenth and twentieth, there were some who were not satisfied with the English of the King James Version because, they thought, for one reason or another, that it did not come close enough to the language of everyday life. Two interesting translations of the New Testament are *The New Testament*, by William Mace, London, 1729, and *A Liberal Translation* by Dr. Edward Harwood, London, 1768. In the first of these we read:—

"When ye fast don't put on a dismal air as the hypocrites do." Matthew 6:16.

"And the domestics slapt him on the cheeks." Mark 14:65.

"If you should respectfully say to the suit of fine clothes, Sit you there, that's for quality." James 2:3.

From *A Liberal Translation* we learn that the author desired "to diffuse over the sacred page the elegance of modern English." [1]

[1] Benjamin Franklin thought that the style of the King James Version was obsolete and suggested that as a reason for the neglect of reading of the Bible. He gave specimens of what he thought would be desirable changes in the language:—

Part of the First Chapter of Job Modernized

Verse 6. "And it being *levee* day in heaven, all God's nobility came to court, to present themselves before him; and Satan also appeared in the circle, as one of the ministry."

Verse 7. "And God said to Satan: You have been a long time absent;

Dr. Johnson's special praise of Dryden was that he had enriched and improved the English language. From the days of Lucian down attempts have been made to create forms of speech, which, by their superior grace, should commend themselves to the usage of the refined and cultivated. Dr. Harwood's effort belongs perhaps in this category. This is a specimen of his work:—

"The daughter of Herodias . . . a young lady who danced with inimitable grace and elegance." Matthew 14:6.

"A gentleman of splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons." Matthew 21:28.

"My soul with reverence adores my Creator, and all my faculties with transport join in celebrating the goodness of God, my Saviour, who hath in so signal a manner condescended to regard my poor and humble station." Luke 1: 46–48.

"We shall not all pay the common debt of nature, but we shall by a soft transition be changed from mortality to immortality." I Corinthians 15:51.

There were many other contributions to the translation of the Bible in the eighteenth century, as may be seen by any one who will consult the printed catalogue of the British Museum, or such books as Orme's

where were you? And Satan answered: I have been at my country seat, and in different places visiting my friends."

. . . . . .

Verse 9. "And Satan answered; does your Majesty imagine that his [Job's] good conduct is the effect of mere personal attachment and affection."

Verse 11. "Try him; only withdraw your favor, turn him out of his places, and withhold his pensions, and you will find him in the opposition."

. . . . . .

The Works of Benjamin Franklin, New York, 1888, ed. John Bigelow, vol. 6, p. 287.

Bibliotheca Biblica, Edinburgh, 1824; and Horne's *Manual of Biblical Bibliography*, London, 1839.

Many of the efforts were directed at the translation of the New Testament, and some of these are representative of special theological or denominational views, such as the Quaker Bible of Anthony Purver, 1764, the Wakefield New Testament, 1792, which was Unitarian, and the Scarlett version, 1798, which was Universalist. The translation of particular words or passages to prove, or to accord with, certain theological views is the characteristic of versions of this class, which is a somewhat large one. Scholarly though some of these individual versions of books or portions of the Bible were, they did not affect in any way the circulation of the King James Version.

EARLY AMERICAN VERSIONS AND EDITIONS

The mention of any considerable number of these special versions would be apart from the purpose of this sketch, but there is one little-known translation of the whole Bible that richly deserves far more attention than it has ever received. It is the scholarly English version, translated throughout from the Greek, and published in Philadelphia in 1808 in four volumes. The title-page reads:—

"The Holy Bible containing The Old and New Covenant, commonly called The Old and New Testament: Translated from the Greek. By Charles Thomson, Late Secretary to the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia. Printed by Jane Aitken, No. 71, North Third Street. 1808."

So far as the present writer is aware, this is the first complete translation of the Bible into English by an

American scholar. Charles Thomson had been a tutor, 1750–55, in the College of Philadelphia, afterwards the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received the degree A. M. From 1775–83 he was the able Secretary of the Continental Congress. Concerning his version of the New Testament it is interesting to know that the American Revision Committee referred to it several times, and always with great respect. Of the whole work Mr. A. J. Edmunds wrote:—

"Neither Roman nor Genevan, neither High Church nor Low, of no sect and of no prejudice, whether of unbelief or of overbelief, this American patriot of the Continental Congress, who lived to be ninety-four and spent a glorious old age in his home near Bryn Mawr, translating the records of our faith, ought to stand among us once more in the form of a newer and more accessible edition of his great work, 'The Old and New Covenants.'" [1]

Of Bibles in America the first printed was the Indian Bible, translated by John Eliot, and issued, the New Testament, 1661, and the Old and the New Testaments, in 1663, in Cambridge. The first book printed in America was The Bay Psalm Book, 1640, with the title:—

"The whole Booke of Psalmes, Faithfully Translated into English Metre."

This was the work of Richard Mather, Thomas Welde and John Eliot.

The first English Bible printed in America was what is known, from the name of its publisher, as the "Aitken Bible," which bore the following title pages:—

[1] A. J. Edmunds, "Charles Thomson's New Testament," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 15, 1891, p. 335.

"The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Newly translated out of the Original Tongues; And with the former Translations Diligently compared and revised. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by R. Aitken, at Pope's Head, Three Doors above the Coffee House, in Market Street. M.DCC.LXXXII.

"The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; Newly Translated out of the Original Greek; And with the former Translations Diligently compared and revised. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by R. Aitken, Bookseller, Opposite the Coffee-House, Front Street. M.DCC.LXXXI."

Earlier than the complete Bible were three editions of the New Testament printed by Aitken in 1777, 1778 and 1779 respectively, with a fourth in 1781, which was bound with the Old Testament of 1782. The third edition, that of 1779, was for the use of schools. The first edition bore the title-page:—

"The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; Newly Translated out of the Original Greek; And with the former Translations Diligently compared and revised. Appointed to be read in Churches. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by R. Aitken, Printer and Bookseller, Front Street. 1777. *Spectamur agendo.*"

The words "Appointed to be read in Churches" do not appear on the title-pages in the complete Bible.

Cotton Mather, as a result of fifteen years' labor, prepared an annotated Bible, which he announced in 1710. His efforts to have it printed were unsuccessful, and the manuscript is now the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A second effort to print an English Bible in America, was made, like Mather's, in

Boston, in 1770 by John Fleming. This too was unsuccessful.

The break with Great Britain prevented the importation of Bibles, and so important was this that the Reverend Dr. Patrick Alison, Chaplain of Congress, joined with others in memorializing Congress, calling attention to the lack of suitable types and paper for printing the Bible in America, and asking that the sum of £10272,10s., be advanced to pay for importing them, or that Congress order the importation of 20,000 Bibles from Holland, Scotland or elsewhere. The latter suggestion prevailed. The minute, in the Journal of Congress for 1777–78, in which this information is given, states further, that "New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Georgia voted in the affirmative, and New York, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina in the negative."

It was at this time that Robert Aitken of Philadelphia proceeded, in spite of the apparent lack of suitable type and paper, to put forth his New Testament of 1777, and a little later, 1782, his complete Bible, the paper for which was made in Pennsylvania.

The Aitken Bible has the distinction not only of being the first English Bible printed in America,[1] but also of having been produced under such conditions as called forth concerning it the following expressions, the first a Resolution of Congress September 12, 1782:—

"*Resolved*, That the United States in Congress assembled, highly approve the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr.

[1] The statement is made that in 1752 there was printed in America surreptitiously an English Bible bearing a false imprint, "Mark Baskett, London." See article "Versions" (English), by J. H. Lupton, in the Extra Volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. P. 257.

Aitken, as subservient to the interest of religion as well as the progress of the arts in this country, and being satisfied from the above report,[1] of his care and accuracy in the execution of the work, they recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the United States, and hereby authorize him to publish this recommendation in the manner he shall think proper."

The second expression, which we shall quote, is from a contributor to the *Freeman's Journal*, November 26, 1782:—

"I can hardly express the feelings I experienced when I found that a complete edition of the Holy Scriptures, in our vernacular tongue, has been printed among us. The circumstances attending this arduous task are so extraordinary that the faithful historian cannot fail to rank it, both in its design and execution, amongst the most remarkable civil events of the present Revolution. What may we not expect from the abilities of this country in respect to literary undertakings, when we consider that this design has been executed in the midst, as it were, of conflagration, murder, brutality, and a general destruction of the works of nature and art?"

"This edition of the Holy Scriptures is the only one that was ever undertaken in America at the expense of an individual, unless we except the German Bible, printed some years ago by Mr. Sower, at a time when this country enjoyed a profound peace. As to Mr. Eliot's 'Indian Bible,' printed many years ago in New England, it is well known that the whole expense was borne by the corporation for promoting the Gospel in New England. How greatly then are the public indebted to Mr. Aitken, who, at the most imminent risque of his private fortune, with very little sup-

[1] A report to Congress made by Messrs. Duane, McKean and Witherspoon, who consulted with the Reverend William White and the Reverend George Duffield, Chaplains of Congress. See *The Journals of the Continental Congress*, Washington 1914, vol. xxxiii, pp. 572–74.

port and patronage, and actuated by a generous zeal for the advancement of the moral interests of mankind, engaged solely in this very expensive and laborious task. What discouraging prospects for the completion of his work must the editor have had from time to time in the course of this cruel and desolating war?"

Philadelphia has played an important part in the history of the Bible in America. The first Bible printed in America, except Eliot's Indian Bible, 1661–63, was the German Bible printed in Germantown by Christopher Saur in 1743. The first American edition of the Rheims-Douay Bible was printed in Philadelphia and bore the following title:—

"The Holy Bible, Translated from the Latin Vulgate: diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greek, and other Editions, in divers Languages; and First Published by the English College at Doway, Anno, 1609. Newly revised, and corrected, according to the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures. With Annotations for Elucidating the Principal Difficulties of Holy Writ. *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus Salvatoris.* Isaiae xii.3. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Carey, Stewart, and Co., MDCCXC."

This was the first American quarto Bible, a fact regarded as worthy of note by James Mease, M. D., who in his *Picture of Philadelphia*, 1811, p. 86, says:— "The Quarto Bible, set up by Mathew Carey, in Philadelphia was the first standing Bible, of that size, in the world, and is even now the only one of separate types. These were cast by Binney and Ronaldson, of Philadelphia."

The first American edition of the Hebrew Scriptures had this title:—

"Biblia Hebraica, Secundum Ultimam Editionem Jos.

Athiae, a Johanne Leusden, denuo recognitam, Recensita variisque notis Latinis Illustrata ab Everardo Van der Hooght, V. D. M. Editio Prima Americana, sine punctis Masorethicis. Philadelphiae: cura et impensis Thomae Dobson, Edita ex Aedibus Lapideis. Typis Gulielmi Fry. MDCCCXIV."

The New Testament in Greek was first printed in America at Worcester, with this title:—

Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum. Juxta Examplar Joannis Millii accuratissime impressum. Editio Prima Americana, Wigorniæ, Massachusettensi: Excudebat Isaias Thomas, Jun. Singulatim et numerose eo vendita officinae suae. April, 1800.

The first translation of the "Scriptures" into English by a Jewish scholar in America was that of Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia in 1853, and the first English version prepared by a group of Jewish scholars is that of the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1917. One of the most important and widely used revisions of the Rheims-Douay Version was that of Archbishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, 1851–62.[1]

[1] Reliable information about American editions will be found in *Early Bibles in America* by Rev. John Wright, 3d. ed. New York, 1894.

CHAPTER XXI

MODERN REVISIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE 1881–1917

PROBABLY the most important addition to the versions of the New Testament prior to the Revised Version of 1881 was that of Dean Alford, 1862 (second edition 1867). This great work had been preceded by a revision of the Gospel of St. John, by Five Clergymen, 1857, and a revision of the Pauline Epistles by the same scholars, who were Dean Alford, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Ellicott, Dr. Moberly and Mr. Humphrey. This was all of it scholarly revision of high character. The second edition of Dean Alford's New Testament contains the following note, which is indicative of what had occurred in the domain of textual criticism since 1611:—

"Since the First Edition was published, the evidence of the recently-found Sinaitic Manuscript has been added to our ancient testimonies regarding the Sacred Text. This has occasioned many variations, which have been indicated in the margin of this Edition, so as to make it comformable to the last Edition of my Greek Testament. The notes, except where such variations necessitated a change, remain as before."

Owing to the wonderful care of the text by the Massorites the variations in the Old Testament Hebrew are few. The assemblies of the Jewish Rabbis at Jamnia, about 90 A. D., and 118 A. D., after the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A. D., by the Romans, fixed the Jewish canon and also the text, which was however

revised under the Sopherim and later under the Massorites. No such care seems to have been exercised in the early Church in regard to the text of what was to become the New Testament, hence variations in the ancient manuscripts are not only numerous, but they affect the inclusion, or omission, of whole passages. It was the results of textual criticism, and not merely the fact that its diction was antiquated, and some of its translations not so exact as could be desired, that led to the demand for a revision of the English Bible.

The Codex Sinaiticus was discovered, 1844–59, by Tischendorf, as were other manuscripts, so that it has been said of him and of his labors that he did more for the Bible in Greek than any scholar since Origen.[1] He devoted his life to the Greek Bible, and published his New Testament in 1840, and Old Testament in 1850. There were later editions of each. Tregelles, during thirty-five years, 1844–79, was writing works on the Greek Testament, his edition, 1857–72, ranking, with that of Tischendorf, among the great contributions to our knowledge of the text. Before this, Lachmann had in 1831 published a text of the Greek Testament in which, says Dr. Hort, "for the first time a text was construed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition." [2] The most important modern work on the Greek text of the New Testament is that of Dr. B. F. Westcott and Dr. F. J. A. Hort, 1882. Increased knowledge of history and archæology made possible the clearer interpretation of the ancient writings, while increased knowledge of the ancient languages made more accurate translation pos-

[1] See C. A. Briggs, *The Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 206–09.

[2] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, London, 1882, vol. 2, p. 23.

sible. The changes in the text which one finds on comparing the King James with the Revised Version were not made by the translators. They had already been made by the textual critics.

Many Bible manuscripts unknown to the translators of 1611 had come to light since then, including some of the most ancient. The Codex of Beza, while known to the King James translators, seems to have been practically ignored, and almost no scientific textual criticism had been undertaken for the determination of the text when the King James Version of the Bible was put forth, destined to be for three centuries the Bible of English-speaking people. The arrival in England in 1628 of the Codex Alexandrinus caused a few changes in the text of an English edition of 1629. The consideration of these facts led to action by the Convocation of Canterbury on a suggestion, made as early as 1856, by Professor W. Selwyn, and repeated by Bishops Wilberforce, Ellicott and Ollivant in 1870, that a revision of the English Bible be made. A committee was appointed, consisting of eight members from each house of Convocation with authority "to invite the coöperation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong." American scholars from nine protestant denominations formed a committee in 1871 to work with the English committee.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN REVISION

In 1881 appeared the Revised New Testament, in 1885 the Revised Version of the Bible, and in 1894 the Revised Version of the Apocrypha. The new version bore the following titles:—

"The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Translated out of the Greek: being the Version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised A. D. 1881. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford, at the University Press, 1881."

"The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues, Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised. Printed for the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford, at the University Press, 1885."

"The Apocrypha, Translated out of the Greek and Latin tongues; being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, Compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised A. D. 1894. Oxford, at the University Press, 1894."

By agreement, the changes suggested by the American revisers, but not accepted by the English Committee, were printed as an appendix which was to appear in every copy of the revised Bible for fourteen years, during which the American Committee agreed not to sanction any edition not printed by the University presses of England. In 1885 the English Committee disbanded, but the American continued in existence, and in 1901, published:—

"The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues, Being the version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised A. D. 1881–1885 Newly Edited by the American Revision Committee, A. D. 1901, Standard Edition. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons."

That additions to our knowledge and changes in our language will be made in the future as they have been

in the past is probable, so that future revisions of the English version may be as necessary or as desirable as was the Anglo-American revision of 1881–1901. The disappearance and discovery of books occurred, as we are told in the Old Testament, even with the Book of the Law:—

"And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the Lord." II Kings 22:8.

An instance of the loss of an important book of the Church occurred in much more recent times. This was the engrossed copy of the Book of Common Prayer appended to the Act of Uniformity 1660, which became detached and was missing until 1867 when it was discovered in the House of Lords. With it was found the printed Prayer Book of 1636, containing the manuscript alterations, that being the original copy of the Book of 1661, and the original of the Parliamentary Transcript, from which was printed the Sealed Book of 1662. The existence of this document was not known until 1867.

There are gaps in our knowledge of early Christian literature, which may be filled through discoveries as remarkable as that of the Codex Sinaiticus discovered in 1859, or the "Sayings of Jesus" discovered on the Nile in 1896–97 and 1904. Such discoveries as those of Sir William M. Ramsay in Asia Minor throw light on the meaning of the terms used by Paul in his Epistles, and on historical statements, such as that of Luke 2:2 concerning Quirinius, Governor of Syria, and thus on the date of the birth of Jesus.

As was the case with the Bishops' Bible, and the King James Version, certain rules for the guidance of

the translators of the modern Revised Version, were laid down in advance by the Convocation of Canterbury. These rules were:—

"1. To introduce as few alterations as possible into the Text of the Authorized Version, consistently with faithfulness."

"2. To limit, as far as possible, the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorized and earlier English Versions."

"3. Each Company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally, and on principles of voting as hereinafter is provided."

"4. That the Text to be adopted be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating; and that when the Text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin."

"5. To make or retain no change in the Text on the second final revision by each Company, except two-thirds of those present approve of the same, but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities."

"6. In every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next Meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by one third of those present at the Meeting, such intended vote to be announced in the notice for the next Meeting."

"7. To revise the headings of chapters and pages, paragraphs, italics, and punctuation."

"8. To refer, on the part of each Company, when considered desirable, to Divines, Scholars, and Literary Men, whether at home or abroad, for their opinions."

There were two Companies of translators, one for the Old Testament, the other for the New.

Textual criticism based on the earliest manuscripts resulted in many changes in the text of the Bible as it appears in the Revised Version. Just what these

changes are, is indicated in the margin in accordance with the rules laid down by the Convocation. In the New Testament sixteen entire verses and one hundred and twenty-two sentences or parts of sentences are omitted, while ten new clauses are inserted. In the Old Testament the differences are chiefly in translation, only a few being in the text, because there was a "received text" due to the care of the Massorites.

The changes made in the English version by the Revisers fall under several heads, the most important being:—

1. Changes due to differences in the original texts.
2. Changes due to greater accuracy of translation.
3. Changes due to greater clearness of translation.

An example of *omission*, is the ascription at the close of the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6:13, with the note "Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever, Amen.'" The Vulgate, and translations of the Vulgate, have always omitted this ascription. Other omissions are Matthew 20:16, "for many be called, but few chosen"; and I John 5:7, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." Mark 16:9–20 is now separated by spacing in the Revised Version, because it does not appear at all in the "two oldest Greek manuscripts and some other authorities omit from verse 9 to the end. Some other authorities have a different ending to the Gospel." John 7:53–8:11, is printed in brackets with the note "Most of the ancient authorities omit John 7:53–8:11. Those which contain it vary much from each other." A passage from the Old Testament in which are textual

uncertainties is Genesis 6:3, which reads practically the same in the King James and Revised Versions:—"My spirit shall not strive with man for ever, for that he also is flesh." In the Revised Version, however, are the notes "Or *rule in*, or according to many ancient versions *abide in*." "Or *in their going astray they are flesh*."

Examples of *more accurate translation*, are I Timothy 6:10, where the King James reads "For the love of money is the root of all evil." In the Revised this appears:—"For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil." In Acts 17:22, the King James reads: "*Ye* men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." The Revised has "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are somewhat superstitious," with marginal note "or *religious*."

In Proverbs 18:24, the King James reads:—"A man *that hath* friends must shew himself friendly." The Revised reads "He that maketh many friends *doeth it* to his own destruction."

Examples of *greater clearness of translation*, as the result of using modern words for those that have become obsolete, or have changed meaning, are found in such passages as Leviticus 10:12, where "meat offering" has been changed to "meal offering" since "meat" is now understood to refer exclusively to flesh. Such words as "let" in II Thessalonians 2:7 and "prevent" in Matthew 17:25 are now obsolete and are changed to their modern equivalents, and such a passage as II Corinthians 8:1 "We do you to wit" is now given "We make known to you."

The English and the American revisers differed on some questions, such as the use of "Jehovah" wherever that name occurred in Hebrew. The English com-

mittee adhered to the usage of the King James Version, except in a few passages, where a proper name was required. The American revisers were of the opinion that the proper name, "Jehovah," should be used in the English wherever it occurred in Hebrew. Similar difference of opinion existed concerning the translation of the Hebrew word "Sheol" by "the grave," "the pit" and "hell." The American Version leaves the word untranslated while the English uses "Sheol" in only twenty-nine of the sixty-four places in which it occurs.

Concerning the verbal changes made in the Revised Versions there are differences of opinion, many persons believing that in numerous passages the changes are not in the nature of improvements, and that, in some cases, the King James reading, on account of the rhythm of its English, as in Psalm 136:1, is preferable. The Revised Version keeps the King James rendering:—

"O give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good:
For his mercy *endureth* forever."

The American Revised Version reads:—

"O give thanks unto Jehovah; for he is good;
For his lovingkindness *endureth* for ever."

There can be no difference of opinion, however, as to the desirability of translating books of the Bible with due recognition of their literary unity, or of the unity of their constituent parts. This requires the disregarding of the chapter and verse divisions, which, while useful for purposes of reference, have done much to interfere with the appreciation of the literary beauty. Early in the 19th century the King's printer, Reeves,

printed a number of issues of the English Bible, arranged in paragraphs, with the chapter and verse divisions set in the margin. Prior to the Geneva New Testament the text was printed in paragraphs. In "*The Holy Bible with the text of the common Translation arranged in Paragraphs etc.* by James Nourse, Boston and Philadelphia, 1834," mention is made in the preface, pp. 1, 2, of the disadvantages resulting from the arbitrary chapter and verse divisions:—"It is a method peculiar to the Bible, and confined to translations [i. e. of the Bible] alone. Yet the word of God is not deserving of such an injurious peculiarity as this." The Revised Versions have been printed without regard to chapters and verses, but these are indicated in the text, or in the margin, in such a way as not to break the continuity of the thought. Each literary unit is translated as a whole, instead of verse by verse, as in the older versions. A familiar example of the gain in clearness resulting from this is to be found in Job, ch. 28, where the figure of the mine and the miner is kept clearly in view throughout the poem. The verses of that chapter, as translated in the King James Version, are, in some instances, almost unintelligible. Another feature of the Revised Versions, which is a great improvement, is the mechanical arrangement by which passages in verse-form appear so to the eye, because the lines are so printed. A comparison of the two versions of Numbers chs. 22–24, or Luke, chs. 1–2, where poetry and prose are mingled, shows how necessary this is, if literary forms are to be indicated, and how helpful it is to the reader. The same is true of the manner in which Psalm 19, for example, is printed, with a space dividing two quite distinct parts of the poem, or Psalms 42 and 43, a reading of which to-

gether will show that there are three stanzas of one poem, Psalm 42, as the spacing indicates, being made up of two parts.

A question to which there seems to be no satisfactory answer is, Why did the Revisers, both English and American, fail to do for the Prophets what they did for other parts of the Bible? Although the Prophets consist largely of poetry, both Revised Versions, except in a few passages, Isaiah, ch. 38, Jonah, ch. 2 and Habakkuk, ch. 3, print them as prose. The Revised Versions likewise fail to indicate by the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, except in Psalm 119, where it was done, even in the Wycliffite Versions, the fact that a dozen poems in the Old Testament are Hebrew Acrostics. In the Cambridge Paragraph Bible, 1873, all these aids in the way of arrangement are given to the reader.

MODERN ENGLISH VERSIONS SINCE 1901

Space will not permit mention, except in a general way, of the recent versions, chiefly of the New Testament, which are the work of individuals, or of small groups of scholars, and which have as their purpose the presentation of the contents of the Bible in the ordinary speech of to-day. In some instances the language is intentionally colloquial, and, in at least one, "American" as distinguished from "English." Some of these "Modern English" versions[1] are:—

[1] In addition to versions of the Old and New Testaments in which the translation is the important consideration, there are recent editions of the Bible consisting of the books edited separately by a single scholar, as is the case with *The Modern Reader's Bible*, or by different scholars as is the case with *The Bible for Home and School*, *The Temple Bible*, *The Century Bible*, and others. These are for general use. To these must be added the numerous

"*The Holy Bible in Modern English*, by Ferrar Fenton, London, 1902."

"*The Twentieth Century New Testament*, A Translation into Modern English made from the original Greek (Westcott and Hort's Text) by a company of about twenty scholars representing the various sections of the Christian Church, New York, 1904."

"*The New Testament in Modern Speech*, An idiomatic translation into everyday English from the text of the Resultant Greek Testament. By Richard Francis Weymouth, M. A., Litt. D. (London) Fellow of University College, London, and formerly Headmaster of Mill Hill School, Editor of The Resultant Greek Testament. London, 1902."

"*The American Bible*, The Books of the Bible in modern English for American Readers, by Frank Schell Ballentine. Scranton, Pa., 1902."

"*The Corrected English New Testament*, by Samuel Lloyd, London and New York, 1904."

"*The Bible in Modern English* or *The Modern English Bible* (New Testament). A rendering from the originals, by an American making use of the best scholarship and latest researches at home and abroad. Perkiomen, Pa., U. S. A., 1909."

Three other volumes that have appeared since the American Revision of 1901 cannot, on account of their importance, be omitted from any discussion of the English Bible.[1] They are—

"*The New Testament*, A New Translation by James

commentaries which are being published and contain the results of modern scholarship.

[1] A committee of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) has been at work for several years on a new translation of the Bible on the basis of that made by Swedenborg himself, but it will be some years yet before it will be ready for publication. The English branch of the New Church has published recently a translation of Genesis. There may be other translations in preparation, of which no announcement has come to the knowledge of the author of this volume.

Moffatt, D. D., D. Litt., Yates Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis, Mansfield College, Oxford, 1913."

"*The Holy Bible*, an Improved Edition based in part on the Bible Union version, Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1912."

"*The Holy Scriptures*, according to the Masoretic Text, a New Translation, with the aid of previous Versions and with constant consultation of Jewish Authorities. Philadelphia. The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5677–1917."

The standing of Dr. Moffatt as a New Testament scholar is so high that any work of his commands attention. His version is modern, and even colloquial in places. The version issued by the Baptist Publication Society, based on the Bible Union version, is the work of a number of scholars each of whom was to be "responsible for his own work and follow his own plan." The text of the translation is therefore not composite, although certain general principles were agreed upon. The language is modernized, where it is thought desirable, and poetry, including much of the Prophets, is printed as such, thus remedying a defect of the Revised Versions, to which attention has been called. Words not in the original, commonly printed in italics, since the Geneva Version, are reduced in number to a minimum and placed in brackets, the customary modern way of indicating insertions.

It is not generally known among Gentiles that some important translations of the Old Testament, or parts of it, into English have been made by Jewish scholars. Such translations were the following: The Pentateuch, 1789, by Isaac Delgado, Emendations of the Authorized Version, 1839, by Selig Newman, The Scriptures, by A. Benisch, 1851–56, A Version of the Authorized Version, by Michael Friedlander, 1884. These were in England.

"In America, in the city of Philadelphia, where the first Hebrew Bible (1814) was printed in this hemisphere, Isaac Leeser issued in 1853 a complete version of the Hebrew Scriptures in English, which for more than half a century has held its place in American and English synagogues. Leeser based himself in style upon the King James Version, 'which for simplicity cannot be surpassed'; but the changes introduced by him are so many and so great that his translation may lay claim to being an independent work." [1]

There remains to be noticed a volume of deepest interest to all students of the Bible, because it comes from the race from which the Bible itself comes. It is the English version of the Hebrew Scriptures published in 1917 by the Jewish Publication Society of America. In this volume appear, in the order and groupings in which they have been placed by the Jews since long before the Christian era, "the Law," "the Prophets," and "the Writings," the three collections which compose the "Scriptures." This translation was projected by the Jewish Publication Society in 1892 and a committee appointed to make it, a portion of the text being assigned to each member, whose work was finally to be passed upon by an Editorial Committee, a plan which was subsequently modified. We cannot do better than to quote here some paragraphs from the Preface:—

"The present translation is the first for which a group of men representative of Jewish learning among English-speaking Jews assume joint responsibility, all previous efforts in the English language having been the work of individual translators. It has a character of its own. It aims to combine the spirit of Jewish tradition with the re-

[1] Max L. Margolis, *The Story of Bible Translations*, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 93–94.

sults of biblical scholarship, ancient, mediæval, and modern. It gives to the Jewish world a translation of the Scriptures done by men imbued with the Jewish consciousness, while the non-Jewish world, it is hoped will welcome a translation that presents many passages from the Jewish traditional point of view."

"We are, it is hardly needful to say, deeply grateful for the works of our non-Jewish predecessors, such as the Authorised Version with its admirable diction, which can never be surpassed, as well as for the Revised Version with its ample learning—but they are not ours. The Editors have not only used these famous English versions, but they have gone back to the earlier translations of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Coverdale, the Bishops' Bible, and the Douai Version, which is the authorized English translation of the Vulgate used by the Roman Catholics; in a word upon doubtful points in style, all English versions have been drawn upon. The renditions of parts of the Hebrew Scriptures by Lowth and others in the eighteenth century and by Cheyne and Driver in our own days were likewise consulted."

With the New Testament the Jewish scholars did not concern themselves, and the Christian understanding of passages in the Old Testament they recognize as being in most instances a matter of interpretation, where there is no difference of opinion concerning the translation. In a few passages, however, there are important differences, which can best be indicated by quoting the Jewish translation and the Revised Versions side by side:—

". . . behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." Isaiah 7:14, Jewish Version.

". . . behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

Margin "or maiden." Isaiah 7:14, Revised Versions.

". . . And they shall look unto Me because they have thrust him through."

Margin, "that is, the nations." See verse 9. Zechariah 12:10. Jewish Version.

". . . and they shall look unto me whom they have pierced."

Margin "according to some Mss. *him*." Zechariah 12:10. Revised Versions.

In spite of differences of reading or of translation the questions of interpretation are the most important, the ancient text delivering a message and men differing as to what the message means.

EPILOGUE

We have, in rapid survey, outlined the history of the making of English versions of the Bible, and have shown that it has been a continuous process. We have tried to tell the story, as far as possible, by quoting the documents. Little has been said of the respective merits of the different versions, concerning which there will always be wide divergence of opinion caused by fundamental differences in the texts from which the translations have been made, and by differences in the translations where there is no difference in the texts.

An attempt has been made to indicate in connection with each of the great translations, an answer to the question, Why was it made? The answer has been given sometimes by implication, rather than directly. This method may be continued by asking, Why will the next revision be made? And here a quotation from a source which represents intelligent opinion, an editorial note in the London *Spectator*, October 5, 1912, may be presented:—

"The proposed Revision of the Bible has elicited a remarkable statement from a number of leading Nonconformist scholars. . . . Briefly summarized, their view is that, while Revision may be necessary in ten years, it would be premature and inadvisable at the moment. They admit that the Revised Version of 1881–85 has by no means won general acceptance, though rendering great service in correcting mistranslations in the Old and making conscientious use of all available research in the New Testament. But the accumulation of fresh material due to the investigations and discoveries of the last thirty years makes it impossible to claim that a final text of the New Testament is sufficiently near to justify, at present, a fresh attempt at revision, and 'another ten years at least seem to be needed for the sifting and presentation of materials and the formation of a general scholarly opinion upon them.' If, however, the plea for delay cannot be conceded to this extent, they urge that in no circumstances should a revision be undertaken of an inadequate or superficial character."

Wycliffe, Tindale, Coverdale, these were the men who were responsible for the English of the Bible. Revisers have made alterations and corrections, but in the main the Bible is as Coverdale left it, the New Testament and Pentateuch being chiefly Tindale's. Compare these different translations of the opening verses of a familiar passage, John, ch. 14:—

"Be not youre herte affraied: ne drede it, ye bileven in god: and bileve ye in me, in the hous of my fadir, ben many dwellyngis, if ony thing lasse I hadde seid to you, for I go to make redi to you a place, and if I go and make redi to you a place, eftsone I come and I schal take you to my silf, that where I am: ye be, and whidir I go ye witen: and ye witen the wey." Wicliffe, 1380.

"Let not youre hertes be troubled. Beleve in god and beleve in me. In my fathers housse are many mansions.

If it were not so, I wolde have tolde you. I go to prepare a place for you. And yf I go to prepare a place for you, I will come agayne, and receave you even unto my selfe, that where I am, there maye ye be also. And whither I go ye knowe and the waye ye knowe." Tindale, 1534.

"Let not youre herte be troubled. Ye believe in God, beleve also in me. In my fathers house are many mansions. If it were not so, I wolde have tolde you. I go to prepare a place for you. And yf I go to prepare a place for you, I will come agayne, and receave you even unto my selfe: that where I am, there maye ye be also. And whither I go, ye knowe, and the waye ye knowe." Coverdale—Great Bible, 1539.

"Let not your hart be troubled. You beleeve in God, beleeve in me also. In my fathers house there be many mansions. If not, I would have told you, Because I goe to prepare you a place. And if I goe, and prepare you a place: I come againe and will take you to my self, that where I am, you also may be. And whither I goe you know, and the way you know." Rheims, 1582.

"Let not your heart be troubled: yee beleeve in God, beleeve also in me. In my Fathers house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you: I goe to prepare a place for you. And if I goe and prepare a place for you, I will come againe, and receive you unto my selfe, that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I goe yee know, and the way ye know." King James, 1611.

"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go, ye know the way." Revised Version, 1881.

"Let not your heart be troubled: believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again, and will receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go, ye know the way." American Revision, 1901.

The English Bible now accessible in many versions is the result of scholarly work done by earnest and devout men through the course of more than six centuries. Each successive version has represented progress toward the complete expression in English of the thoughts of ancient writers. Itself a collection of what, in many cases, are composite books, the Bible now appears in English in a composite translation. To the original, as to the translation, there were many contributors in many different centuries. To the authors and editors, we may ascribe the single-hearted purpose to preserve for future generations the record of the dealings of God with man. To the translators, we may ascribe the single-hearted purpose to make accessible to men of English tongue that treasure-house of wisdom and beauty commonly known as the Holy Scriptures, contained in the Old and the New Testaments.

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INDEX

Abraham, 22, 113, 281
Acts of the Apostles, 156, 299
Ælfric, 326, 332
Ælfric Grammaticus, 333
Æsop's Fables, 269
Agur, Words of, 222
Ahab, 29, 283
Ahikar, Story of, 51
Aitken Bible, 404, 408
Aldhelm, 327
Aldred, 330
Aldus, 346
Alexander the Great, 3, 10, 13
Alexandria, 3, 9, 10
Alexandrians, Epistle to the, 55
Alford, Henry, 63, 410
Alfred, 331, 332, 341
Alison, Patrick, 406
Allen, Cardinal, 377, 379, 385
Ambrosian Library, 14, 55
American Baptist Publication Society, 213, 422
American Bible, The, 421
American Bibles, 403, 409
American Revised Version, 388, 389, 413, 418
Amos, 4, 291
Amraphel, 23
Ancren Riwle, 335
Angels, 280, 311, 312
Angel of Jehovah, 280
Anglo-American Revision, 412
Anglo-Saxon versions, 325
Antilegomena, 15, 18
Antiochus, Persecutions by, 6, 45
Antwerp Polyglot, 397
Apocalypses, 309
Apocrypha, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 36, 40, 44, 46, 210, 211, 347, 355, 360, 363, 371, 390, 397
Apocryphal New Testament, 21, 61
Aquila, 14
Aramaic, 3, 9, 13, 319
Aratus, 52
Archæology and the Bible, 24
Archangels, 311, 313
Ark of the Covenant, 127, 129, 198
Armenian version, 13, 325
Aristeas, Letter of, 10
Aristides, Apology of, 59
Aristobulus, 10
Asaph, 29, 31, 183, 233
Assumption of Moses, 37, 47, 307, 310
Athanasius, 18, 55
Augustine (d. 430), 14, 15
Augustine (d. 604), 323, 324
Aurelius, 323

Babylonian captivity, 5, 7, 292
Babylonian Job, 235
Babylonian story of Creation, 25
Badius, Conrad, 370
Ballads and folk-songs, 34
Bancroft, Bishop of London, 393, 394
Barnabas, Epistle of, 18
Bartholomæus Anglicus, 345
Baroody, A. T., 238
Barton, G. A., 24, 25, 26, 30, 235
Baruch, Apocalypses of, 38, 310
Baskett, J., 400
Bay Psalm Book, 404
Beatitudes, 72, 237, 342
Bede, 323, 324, 327, 328, 332, 341
Beelzebub, 313
Behemoth, 239, 243
Benisch, A., 422
Bertha, 324
Beza, 12, 370, 372, 397, 412
Bickley, Bishop of Chichester, 374
Bildad, 246, 251, 254, 258
Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, 393
Biblia Pauperum, 326
Blayney, Benjamin, 399
Blessing of Jacob, 30

Boëthius, 332
Bonner, Bishop, 367
Bishop's Bible, 15, 372, 373, 374, 376, 383, 391, 394
Book of Common Prayer, 15, 414
Booths, Feast of (see also Tabernacles), 200
Bossuet, J. B., 205, 206
Bran, 323
"Breeches Bible," 372
Briggs, C. A., 72, 82, 89, 411
Brihtwold, 332
Bristow, Richard, 379
Britain, Christianity in, 323
British and Foreign Bible Society, 16
Buck, John and Thomas, 400
Burnet, Bishop, 393
Burton, E. D., 60

Cædmon, 327, 332
Callimachus, 52
Calvin, John, 370
Canterbury, St. Martin's church at, 324
Caractacus, 323
Carleton, J. G., 382
Carlyle, Thomas, 181
Carthage, Council of, 15, 56
Catholic Encyclopedia, 17, 386
Caves of Palestine, 113
Caxton, William, 344, 345
Celestial Hierarchy, 311, 317
Celtic Church, 323, 324, 325
Celtic Scholarship, 324
Challoner, Richard, 385, 386
Chapter and Verse division, 370, 419
Charles, R. H., 21, 37, 47, 51, 243, 312
Chaucer, 336, 337, 338, 344
Choral Singing, 184
Chorals, 197
Chronicles, Books of, 4, 7, 148, 271, 363, 368, 371
Church of England, 16, 381
Church of the New Jerusalem, 421
City Scenes, 117–119
Clay, A. T., 24, 25
Cleanthes, 52
Clement of Alexandria, 57, 59, 60, 67
Clement of Lanthony's *Harmony*, 335
Clement VIII, 17, 385
Clementine Epistles, 18
Cochlæus, Joannis, 353
Codex, Alexandrinus, 12, 412
Codex, Amiatinus, 326
Codex of Beza, 12, 412
Codex, Petrograd, 3
Codex Sinaiticus, 12, 411, 414
Codex Vaticanus, 12
Coleridge, S. T., 88
Colman, 324
Cologne Fragment, 349
Colossians, Epistle to the, 302
Complutensian Polyglot, 346, 368
Constantinople, Capture of, 345
Convocation of Canterbury, 412, 415
Cook, A. S., 327, 331, 332, 334
Coptic (Egyptian) versions, 13, 325
Corinthians, Epistles to the, 301
Covenant, Book of the, 6
Covenants, Old and New, 45
Coverdale's Bible, 344, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 368, 369, 371, 374, 383, 388, 426, 427
Cranmer, Archbishop, 362, 366
Cranmer's Bible, 367
Creation, 22, 25, 104
Cromwell, Sir Thomas, 344, 356, 358, 362, 366, 367
Cromwell's Bible, 367
Cursor Mundi, 335
Cuthbert, 327, 329
Cuthwine, 328
Cynewulf, *Christ* of, 332
Cyprian, 14
Cyril, 55

Damasus, 14, 329
Daniel, 4, 293, 294, 309, 310, 318, 319
Daniel, Roger, 400
David, 29, 31, 125, 142, 143, 181, 183, 186, 187, 233, 243
David and Goliath, 190, 234
Delgado, I, 422
Demetrius Phalereus, 10
Desert, 113
Deuteronomy, 4, 6, 34, 134, 231, 246, 271
Deutero-canonical books, 15
De Valera, Cipriano, 397

De Voragine, Jacobus, 344
Devil, 264, 313
Dickens, Charles, 100
Diatessaron of Tatian, 59
Diocletian, Persecutions by, 45
Diodati, 397
Dionysius the Areopagite, 311
Discrepancies in the Bible, 5
Dobneck, Johann, 353
Douay Version, 3, 15, 18, 19, 20, 351, 377, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 397, 409
Driver, S. R., 23, 24, 183, 205, 209, 240, 309, 375
Dryden, John, 402
Durham Book, 329

Eadfrith, 329, 330
Ecclesiastes, 4, 5, 200, 226
Ecclesiasticus, 210, 245
Edomites, 289
Edmunds, A. J., 404
Egypt, 27
Egyptian Hallel, 183, 192
Egyptian Tales, 24
Eldad and Medad, 285
Eleazar, 10
Eleusis, Mysteries of, 277
Eleutherus, 323
Eli, 286
Elihu, 239, 246, 247, 262, 263
Elijah, 233, 285, 286
Eliot's Bible, 404, 408
Eliphaz, 246, 250, 253, 257, 265
Elisha, 285
Elizabeth, Queen, 391
Elmslie, W. G., 84, 85
Elymas the Sorcerer, 283
Emperour, Martin, 361
English and Hebrew Poetry, 85
Enoch, Books of, 37, 47, 212, 243, 307, 310, 312, 313, 315
Ephesians, Epistle to the, 302
Ephraem manuscript, 12
Epimenides, 52
Epiphanius, 52
Epistles, 299
Erasmus, 346, 347, 353, 368
Esdras, Books of, 7, 15, 36, 309, 310, 320, 390
Essenes, 6
Esther, 4, 5, 17, 163, 200
Ethan, 31, 183, 189
Ethelbert, 324
Ethiopic version, 13
Euripides, 204, 234
Eusebian Canons, 329
Eusebius, 45, 55, 66
Exodus, 4, 14, 131, 246
Ezekiel, 4, 236, 237, 240, 293, 294, 309, 318, 319
Ezra, 4, 7, 8, 148, 294, 363, 371

Fables, of Jotham, of Jehoash, 222, 272, 273
Farmen the Presbyter, 330
Fenton's, F., Bible, 421
"Five Rolls," 5, 200
Fleming, John, 406
"Former Prophets," 4, 136
Forshall, J., 338, 339
Fox's, J., *Book of Martyrs* (*Actes and Monumentes*), 341, 366, 367
Franklin, Benjamin, 401
French versions, 397
Friedlander, M., 422
Froschouer, C., 355
Fulke, William, 378, 383, 387

Gabriel, 313
Gadreel, 312
Galatians, Epistle to the, 302
Gardner, P., 101
Gasquet, Father, 17
General, or Catholic, Epistles, 304
Genesis, 4, 130
Geneva Version, 369, 371, 372, 375, 376, 383, 391, 392, 397, 400
Gilbey, Anthony, 371
Ginsburg, C. D., 4, 207, 355
Gnomic Poetry, 222–224
Golden Legend, 344
Gospels, Apocryphal, 21, 61
Gospels, 59–67, 153–155, 299
Gothic version, 13
Gower, 336
Grafton, Richard, 361, 366, 367, 368
Great Bible, 344, 358, 366, 368, 369, 373, 374, 375, 383
"Great He" and "She" Bibles, 399, 400
Great Synagogue, 8

Green, J. R., 337, 344
Gregory Nazianzen, 55
Gregory the Great, 330, 331
Grenfell, B. P., 67
Guest, Bishop of Rochester, 374
Gutenberg, 345
Guthlac, 327

Habakkuk, 4, 237, 293, 294, 295
Hagar, 233
Haggai, 4, 290, 293, 294
Hallel, 183
Halle's Chronicle, 354, 363
Hammurabi, Code of, 23
Hampton Court Conference, 392, 394
Harris, J. R., 51, 59
Harrison, F., 337
Harwood, Edward, 401, 402
Heavens, 315
Hebrew Scriptures, 3, 4, 7, 8, 18, 423
Hebrews, Epistle to the, 18, 300, 304
Hebrew texts printed, 346
Helbing, R., 67
Heman, 31, 183, 189
Henry VIII, 344, 359
Hermes Trismegistus, 53, 312
Hexapla of Origen, 14
Hezekiah, 28, 29, 222
Higden's *Polychronicon*, 345
Hilda, Abbess, 324
Hilkiah, 7
Hippo Synod of, 15
Hort, F. J. A., 411
Hosea, 4, 232, 236, 291
Hugues de St. Cher, 370
Hunt, A. S., 67

Idols and Idolatry, 286, 287, 288
Idyls, 204
Imagery of the Orientals, 98
Immortality of the Soul, 41, 42, 255
Ireland, 325, 385
Irenæus, 65, 67
Isaac, 233
Isaiah, 4, 232, 240, 311
Ishmael, 233
Issaverdens, J., 39
Itala version, 14

James I, 391, 392
Jamnia, Council of, 6, 410
James, Epistle of, 15, 18, 213, 300, 305
Jannes and Jambres, 37, 307
Jasher, Book of, 30, 31
Jastrow, M., 235
Jehovah, 417, 418
Jeremiah, 4, 236, 293, 294
Jerome, 6, 11, 14, 15, 56, 209, 325, 335, 345, 383, 387
Jesus, 59, 153, 154, 155, 156, 232, 296
Jesus, Sayings of, 46, 67–69, 414
Jewish English version, 423
Jewish Publication Society, 9, 213, 409, 422, 423
Job, Book of, 4, 231–267
Joel, 4, 293
John, Epistles of, 15, 18, 300, 305, 306, 307
John, Gospel of, 55, 56, 57, 59, 65, 67, 154, 155, 328
John the Baptist, 295, 296, 297
John of Trevisa, 345
Johnson, Samuel, 402
Jonah, 4, 172, 288, 293, 358, 363
Joseph, 24, 234, 235
Joseph of Arimathea, 323
Josephus, 10, 52
Joshua, 4, 6, 137, 363
Joy's New Testament, 355
Juda, Leo, 372
Jude, Epistle of, 15, 18, 300, 307, 312
Judges, 4, 139
Judith, 15, 33, 177
Judith, 332
Junius, Franciscus, 397

Kallen, H. M., 238
Kenrick, Archbishop, 386, 409
Kenyon, F. G., 327
Kinah, or Lamentation, 87
Kings, Books of, 4, 145
King James Version, 12, 271, 351, 383, 387, 388, 389, 392, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 403, 412, 414, 417, 418, 419
Knox, T. F., 378
Koheleth, 200, 210
Korahite Psalms, 183, 233

Lachmann, C., 411
Lamentations, 4, 5, 200, 294
Laodicea, Council of, 56
Laodiceans, Epistle to the, 55
Langton, Stephen, 370
Lanier, Sidney, 88
Latin versions, 13, 14 (see also Vulgate)
"Latter Prophets," 4
"Law, The," 4, 29, 44, 423
Leeser, Isaac, 409, 423
Lemuel, King, 223
Leo X, 346
Leviathan, 239, 243
Leontopolis, Temple at, 10
Leviticus, 4, 23, 132
Liudhard, 324
Lindisfarne Gospels, 325, 326, 329, 330
Lingard, J., 323, 324, 326, 329
Lists of New Testament Books, 18, 55, 56, 57
Lists of Old Testament Books, 4, 5, 6, 18
Lloyd, Bishop, 399
Lloyd's, S., New Testament, 421
Lord's Prayer, 76, 77, 416
Lost Books, 32, 33
Lost Books of New Testament, 49, 53
Lowell, J. R., 102
Lowth, R., 70, 71, 88, 109, 111, 203, 204
Lucian, 402
Luke, Gospel of, 55, 56, 57, 59, 62–64, 65, 67, 153, 155
Luther, 16, 347, 348, 352, 353, 354

Maccabees, Books of, 41, 333
Mace, William, 401
Madden, F., 338, 339
"Major Prophets," 5
Malachi, 4, 293, 295, 363
Margolis, M. L., 9, 423
Mark, Gospel of, 55, 56, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 153, 154
Mark Twain, 389
Martin, Gregory, 378, 386
Mary Queen of Scots, 381
Massorites, 4, 370, 410, 411, 416
Mather, Cotton, 405
Matthæan Logia, 63, 65, 66
Matthew, Gospel of, 55, 56, 57, 59, 63, 65, 66, 67, 153, 154, 155
Matthew's Bible, 361–365, 366, 368, 369, 371
Mazarin Bible, 345
McMahon, Father, 385
Megilloth, 5, 200
Melito, 17
Messiah, 142, 310
Messianic Prophecy, 191, 297
Micah, 4, 231, 293
Micaiah, 242, 283, 284
Michael, 307, 313
Michelangelo, 19
Midrashim, 33
Millennium, 38, 315
Milman, H. H., 181
"Minor Prophets," 5, 6
Moabite Stone, 29
Moffat, James, 49, 57, 298, 309, 421, 422
Mombert, J. I., 327
Monmouth, Humphrey, 348
Montanus, Arias, 397
Montgomery, J. A., 90–95
Moore, G. F., 238
More, Sir Thomas, 356
Morfill, W. R., 37, 243, 312
Moses, 7, 135, 184, 185, 281, 282
Moulfort's manuscript, 346
Moulton, J. H., 67
Moulton, R. G., 193, 206
Mountains of Palestine, 111, 112
Munster, Sebastian, 368
Muratorian Fragment, 55, 310

Naaman, 287
Nahum, 4, 291, 293, 295
Nary, Father, 385
Nathan, 274, 289
Nature in Hebrew poetry, 111
Nehemiah, 4, 7, 148, 294, 363
Newman, Cardinal, 386
Newman, Selig, 422
Nicæa, Council of, 56
Nicholas of Hereford, 337
Nicholson, James, 357, 361
Nourse, James, 419
Nineveh, 291
Numbers, 4, 133

Obadiah, 4, 289, 293
Olivetan, 363, 364
Ophannim, 317
Order of Books of New Testament, 56, 57
Order of Books of Old Testament, 18, 128
Origen, 14, 37, 47, 55, 201, 209, 300, 307, 323, 411
Orosius, 332
Ormulum, 334
Owun, 330
Oxyrhynchus papyri, 67

Pagninus, 358, 372
Papias, 57, 66, 67
Paradise, 315, 316
Paragraph Bible, 400, 419, 420
Parallel Bible, 400
Parallelism in Hebrew Poetry, 71–86
Paris, Thomas, 399
Parker, Archbishop, 372, 376
Passover, Feast of, 5, 29, 192, 200
Paul, 232, 234, 323
Pauline Epistles, 300–304, 410
Pentateuch, 7, 10, 129, 358, 360, 363, 422
Pentecost, Feast of, 5, 192, 200
Personification and Prosopopœia, 100–103
Peter, 232, 323
Peter, Epistles of, 15, 18, 300, 305, 306, 312
Petrie, Flinders, 24
Pharisees, 6
Philo, 10, 52, 53
Philastrius, 55
Philemon, Epistle to, 304
Philippians, Epistle to the, 302
Philocrates, 10
Pilgrim Psalms, 72
Pius X, 17
Pollard, A. W., 338, 339, 340, 348, 349, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 360, 362, 366, 367, 372, 373, 374, 392, 393, 396, 398, 399, 400
Prayers in the Bible, 77
Prayer of Manasses, 15, 36, 360, 363, 371, 390
Preservation of writings, 27–29
Prometheus, 234
"Prophets, The," 4, 29, 44, 289, 293, 295, 297, 319, 423
Prophets, Pre-exilic and Post-exilic, 293
Proverbs, 30, 269
Proverbs, Book of, 4, 200, 221
Psalms, Book of, 4, 8, 15, 30, 36, 180–199
Psalter, Jerome's Hebrew, 15, 383
Psalter, Gallican, 15, 331, 383, 384
Psalter, Paris, 331
Psalter, Rolle's, 335
Psalter, Roman, 15, 331, 383, 384
Psalter, Surtees, 335
Psalter, Vespasian, 331
Psalter, West-Midland, 335
Pseudepigrapha, 21, 38, 213
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 10, 204
Purim, Feast of, 5, 163, 200
Puritans, 391, 392
Purver, Anthony, 403
Purvey, John, 338, 339, 341

"Q" source, 63, 65
Quirinius, 414

Ramsay, W. M., 414
Raphael, 313
Reading of Scriptures, 298
"Redeemer," 255
Reformation, 16, 326, 393
Regnault, 357
Resurrection of the body, 43
Revelation, Book of, 15, 18, 40, 300, 309, 310, 311, 318, 320–322
Revelation of Peter, 55, 310
Revised Version, 19, 388, 412–420
Rheims-Douay Version, 377–390. See also Douay Version
Rhythm in Hebrew Poetry, 87–96
Rihbany, A. M., 97, 98, 268
Rogers, John, 361, 362, 363, 364
Romans, Epistle to the, 301
Roman Catholic Church, 15, 18, 36, 324, 325, 381, 387
Rufinus, 11, 56
Rules for Translators, 373, 395, 415
Rushworth Gloss, 330
Ruskin, John, 104
Russian Greek Church, 16
Ruth, 4, 5, 136, 157–162, 200, 205

Sadducees, 6, 44
Sampson, Thomas, 371
Samson, 141, 158, 205
Samuel, Books of, 4, 142
Satan, 235, 239, 243, 264, 315
Satans, 312, 317
Sayce, A. H., 28, 29
Sayings of Jesus, 46, 67–69, 414
Scarlett, Nathaniel, 403
Scrivener, F. H. A., 399
Sea, 114–117
"Second Isaiah," 240, 293
Selden, John, 397
Selwyn, W., 412
Septuagint, 8, 9, 11, 145, 294, 346, 347
Sermon on the Mount, 155, 213, 279
Sheol, 316, 418
Shepherd of Hermas, 18, 310
Shepherds, Syrian, 107
Sibylline Oracles, 310
Siloam Inscription, 29, 30
Simon the Sorcerer, 283
Sixtus V, 17
Skeat, W. W., 330
Smith, Bishop of Gloucester, 393
Smith, G. A., 85
Smith, George, 25
Solomon, 31, 125, 210
Song by the Sea, 30, 184
Song of the Bow, 31, 187
Song of Deborah, 30, 101–103
Song of Solomon (or Song of Songs), 4, 5, 200–09
Song of the Sword, 30
Song of the Well, 30
Songs of Ascents, 180, 192
Sopherim, 3, 4, 9, 411
Sorcerers, etc., 281, 282, 287
Sources of the Pentateuch, 34
Spectator, The, 275, 425
Stanley, A. P., 198, 326
Stephanus, 370, 397
Stevens, W. A., 60
Storrs, R. S., 342
Strahan, J., 241
Sun and Moon, Worship of, 246, 287
Swedenborg, E., 421
Symbolic visions, 309
Symmachus, 14
Syriac version, 13, 60, 325

Tabernacles, Feast of (see also Booths), 5, 192
Tale of Two Brothers, 24
Talmud, 11, 312
Targums, 9
Tatian, 59
Taverner's Bible, 364, 369
Tell-el-Amarna tablets, 22
Temple, 29, 148, 180, 289
Temple, Second, 8, 152, 180, 294
Temple psalmody, 186
Terence, 204
Tertullian, 14, 300, 323
Testament of Levi, 317
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 310
Tetrapla of Origen, 14
Theocritus, 203
Theodoret, 201
Theodotion, 14
Thessalonians, Epistles to the, 300, 301
Thomas, Isaiah, 409
Thomson, Charles, 403, 404
Thomson, W. M., 107
Thucydides, 101
Timothy, Epistles to, 303
Tindale, William, 341, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 360, 362, 363, 364, 368, 369, 383, 388, 390, 426
Tindale's translations, 347–355
Tischendorf, C., 411
Titus, Epistle to, 303
Tobit, 15, 33, 176, 205
Tomson, Laurence, 372
Torrey, C. C., 77, 95, 96
"Treacle Bible," 376
Tregelles, S. P., 411
Tremellius, 397
Trent, Council of, 15, 17
"Troy's Bible," 386
Tunstall, Cuthbert, 347, 356
"Twelve, The," 4, 5
Twentieth Century New Testament, 421

Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament, 39
University of Pennsylvania, 1, 25, 67, 404

Uriel, 313
Urim and Thummim, 280, 287
Ussher, Archbishop, 399

Valleys of Palestine, 112
Vatican, Council of the, 17
Vaughan, Stephen, 359
"Vinegar Bible," 400
Virgil, 203
Vulgate, 15, 17, 18, 19, 36, 145, 325, 345, 346, 347, 358, 360, 363, 364, 368, 385, 387, 388, 389, 390, 408

Wakefield, Gilbert, 403
Ward, Monsignor, 386
Warham, Archbishop, 356
Wars of the Lord, Book of the, 30
Waterton, D., 338
Wearmouth, 326
Wedding songs, 209
Wells, J. E., 336
West-Saxon Gospels, 332
Westcott, B. F., 339, 341, 352, 383, 384, 411
Weymouth's, R. F., New Testament, 421
Whitby, Synod of, 324
Whitchurch, Edward, 361, 366, 367, 368
Whittingham, William, 370, 371
Wilfrid, 324
William of Malmesbury, 331
William of Shoreham, 335
Wisdom, Kinds of, 219
Wisdom of Jesus, 6, 13, 210
Wisdom of Solomon, 41, 210
Witham, Robert, 385
Wright, John, 409
"Writings, The," 4, 5, 29, 44, 124, 293, 319, 423
Wycliffe, John, 326, 329, 336, 337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 347, 348, 351, 364, 377, 426
Wycliffite versions, 339, 341, 350, 351, 358, 384, 389

Ximenes, Cardinal, 347

Yarrow, 326

Zachariah, 5
Zacharias, 281
Zealots, 6
Zechariah, 4, 5, 243, 293, 294, 295
Zedekiah, 284
Zephaniah, 4, 293
Zophar, 239, 240, 241, 246, 247, 252, 256, 259

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